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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE**RESPECTING****AFGHANISTAN****PART 3****January to December 1949**

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CONFIDENTIAL

**FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING
AFGHANISTAN**

PART 3.—JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1949

F 273/1061/97

No. 1

**CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE
AFGHAN AMBASSADOR**

Pakistan-Afghan Frontier

Mr. Bevin to Sir G. Squire (Kabul)

(No. 1) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *4th January, 1949.*

The Afghan Ambassador called on me to-day and stressed again the difficulties of his country in connexion with the North-West Frontier Province and the tribal areas between the Province and the Pakistan-Afghan frontier. He said that there was great danger of Russia intervening and exploiting the grievances felt by Afghanistan owing to the situation which had arisen and the inability to settle this matter with Pakistan.

2. I told the Ambassador that legally the position was that with the transfer of power to Pakistan and India all treaty obligations relating to the Pakistan-Afghan frontier were also transferred. The matter could therefore only be disposed of by settlement with Pakistan. I then asked him what it was he really wanted, since I understood that talks had already taken place between the Afghan representative and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Did his Govern-

ment desire the territory to be transferred, or what was it that they really wanted?

3. The Ambassador then said that his country did not desire the territory to be transferred. What they wanted was a kind of home rule and greater freedom for their people in that territory. If Pakistan would accede to such an arrangement then the whole matter would be settled. If, on the other hand, the present position was allowed to continue, then the situation was open to exploitation by third parties. He urged me to make another effort with Pakistan in order to get them to hold discussions on the possibility of granting home rule to the territory.

4. I pointed out that I had no status to intervene in the matter, but His Majesty's Government had urged both upon his Government and on the Government of Pakistan the importance of maintaining friendly relations.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN

F 1967/1011/97

No. 2

AFGHANISTAN: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1948

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 5th February)

(No. 8) *Kabul,*
Sir, *22nd January, 1949.*

I have the honour to transmit to you here-with my political review of Afghanistan for 1948.

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2. You will observe that the report as it stands is not suitable for communication to the Governments of India or Pakistan. This is inevitable, for no political review of Afghanistan could omit the questions of

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"Pathanistan" and Afghan-Pakistan and Afghan-Indian relations in general, or of Kashmir, in which Afghanistan is deeply and even vitally concerned. Moreover, both India and Pakistan maintain embassies in Kabul and are thus in a position to furnish their Governments with adequate reports of their own. In these circumstances I hope that you will agree that it was impossible fully to adhere to the instructions contained in your circular despatch No. 0146 of 15th August, 1947.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow and Tehran, and to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom at Delhi and Karachi.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

Enclosure in No. 2

Afghanistan: Annual Political Review,
1948

A retrospect of the year 1948 in Afghanistan can hardly give the observer cause for particular satisfaction, as there is little progress to report in any direction; but at least it can be said that the country's position is not noticeably worse than it was a year ago. Her chief difficulties are economic rather than political. Unwise expenditure of her slender resources has brought about an acute shortage of foreign exchange, and almost all plans for the country's development are in abeyance.

The position of the Royal Family in the country is still to all appearances secure, though the unity which a year ago seemed to have been temporarily restored has now apparently been finally disrupted. Hashim Khan, the ex-Premier, and eldest of the King's uncles, who profoundly disagrees with the way in which his younger brother has allowed matters to drift, has left the country on a visit of indefinite duration to Europe and to the United States, and his two nephews, Daud and Naim, have left with him, the former having exchanged his position of Minister of Defence for that of Afghan Minister in Paris, a diplomatic appointment for which he is by temperament eminently unsuitable, and the latter having secured his transfer from London to Washington. Shah Wali Khan, the second uncle, has accepted the post of ambassador in Karachi, where he is patiently striving

to establish cordial relations with the Government of Pakistan. This leaves Shah Mahmud, the youngest of the three uncles, surrounded by the less important members of the Royal Family and a host of other "yes-men" to manage the country free from interference and criticism. The King has not come forward as much as was expected, though in the autumn he carried out an extensive tour of Badakshan, which is reported to have had a good effect in this remote province. A notable event connected with the Royal Family was the sudden publication in November of a letter from ex-King Amanullah, promising allegiance to the present dynasty and renouncing all claim to the throne. His overtures have been accepted and Afghan nationality has been re-conferred on the ex-King. The incident aroused much speculation for a short time, but Amanullah is still in Italy and there appears to be no idea of his returning to Afghanistan. In fact it may be that the Afghan Government only published the correspondence in order to counter the threat offered by one Mohammad Amin, a half-brother of Amanullah, who had earlier arrived in Waziristan claiming to be a supporter of the ex-King, but whose attempts to stir up trouble have so far met with little success.

The year has seen the establishment of the new Indian and Pakistan Embassies in April and May respectively. The former has made a very good impression and as there have been no really contentious questions requiring solution, the establishment of cordial relations between India and Afghanistan has not been difficult. With Pakistan the question of the North-West Frontier and the difficulties which Afghanistan has experienced owing to the chaotic condition of transport in that dominion have made the establishment of friendly relations a matter of much greater difficulty. In fact the "Pathanistan" issue, coupled with the question of the interference of tribesmen from the Afghan side of the border in Kashmir, has been the most important political problem which Afghanistan has had to face during the year; and no solution seems yet in sight. The Afghan contention that their kinship with the Pathans in Pakistan gives them a right to ask for guarantees as to their future and for a new name for the North-West Frontier Province has been resisted, and not unnaturally, by Pakistan. The choice of Nawabzada Saidullah Khan in 1947 as Pakistan's special representative

in Afghanistan and the subsequent despatch of Najibullah Khan as Afghanistan's negotiator to Karachi were both unfortunate, and their tactlessness strained relations still further. Najibullah returned to Kabul unsuccessful in January, but the situation was improved by the transfer in March of His Royal Highness Shah Wali Khan from Paris to be Afghanistan's first ambassador in Karachi and by the appointment of Mr. Chundrigar as Pakistan Ambassador in Kabul. Both are men of good-will and experience and realise the importance of friendly relations between the two countries. The visit in August of a mission headed by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Minister for Communications in the Pakistan Government and himself a Pathan, helped further to improve relations. A stop was put to a press and radio campaign, which for some months was conducted with vigour by both sides, and Pakistan has moved some way towards meeting the Afghan Government's point of view. At the end of the year it looked as if Afghanistan might sensibly allow the matter to remain in abeyance and concentrate instead on the practical questions connected with trade and transit facilities which are of far greater immediate importance to her economy.

The problem of intervention in the Kashmir dispute has been a further complicating factor. There was a spontaneous movement towards Kashmir on the part of the tribesmen on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border. The Afghan Government endeavoured to fulfil its international obligations and to avoid possible difficulties with India by restraining Afghan tribes from joining in the dispute. This caused resentment, not only in Pakistan, where it has been considered an unfriendly act, but also in Afghanistan itself, where many people, including the Hazrat of Shor Bazar, the leading mullah and a most influential personage, have protested. The Hazrat has made no secret of his opposition to the Government on this score and has recently been visiting Pakistan and making unauthorised promises of support from Afghanistan in the Kashmir struggle. A settlement between India and Pakistan would therefore also remove one of the causes of friction between Afghanistan and Pakistan, though the need for the turbulent tribesmen on both sides of the border to find a fresh outlet for their energies may well create further problems for the two countries.

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It has been inevitable that the British Embassy (raised to that status in May) and the British Government should to some extent have been involved in the complicated question of Pathanistan, which prior to 1947 was a British problem. Afghanistan, in particular, has insistently demanded our help. Pakistan has been less anxious to solicit British assistance in what is now her own problem, and our intervention has perforce, therefore, been restricted to advising both sides to endeavour to reach a reasonable compromise. In spite of our failure to secure for the Afghans all that they desire in this matter, Anglo-Afghan relations have remained cordial throughout the year. Naturally the Afghans are disappointed that our relinquishment of control over India and Pakistan precludes us from giving them direct help in many practical matters of day-to-day administration, and that our present financial difficulties make it impossible to give them the specially favourable treatment which the former Government of India used to afford. They realise, however, that there is no lessening of goodwill on our part and they are still anxious for our help and advice in many of their problems, political and cultural, as well as economic. In particular they have continued to seek our assistance in the strengthening and training of their army and air force. Eleven of the twelve new Anson planes ordered earlier in the year have now arrived, and with them additional British personnel to train the Afghan air force in their use and maintenance. No progress was made during the year in the supply of arms and equipment to the Afghan army. The Government of India has not yet been able to give a definite reply to the Afghan enquiry whether they are prepared to implement the agreement for such supply entered into by His Majesty's Government in 1945 and only partly fulfilled before partition. It seems probable, however, that most of the surplus arms formerly earmarked for Afghanistan have been used up in the Hyderabad and Kashmir adventures.

Afghanistan's chief anxiety has, of course, as always, been fear of Russian aggression. Relations with Russia, however, have been correct and the trade agreement entered into at the end of 1947 seems to have worked successfully and has been extended and renewed for a further period. No incidents have been reported from the frontier since the ratification of the Boundary Agreement in 1947, but relations

are by no means cordial and alleged misrepresentations of Afghan policy by the Russian Radio have met with spirited rejoinders from the Afghan press. Practically all Russian women and children were removed from Afghanistan as from other countries in August. Throughout the year there has been no Soviet Ambassador and except between April and August the counsellor also has been away acting as chief of the Russian Boundary Commission, which did not finally conclude its labours until October. In May the selection of M. Ivanov for the post of ambassador was announced, but his sudden death in July led to further delay and it was not until November that a fresh nomination of General Feodorov was made. The appointment of a military officer as ambassador caused the Afghan Government some anxiety, and this is not likely to be lessened by the fact that he has now arrived accompanied by the former counsellor and no less than three military attachés. The Afghans will allow a military attaché and one assistant, but not more.

Afghanistan's relations with her Western neighbour Persia have been adversely affected by the dispute over the Helmand River. Scanty rainfall in Central Afghanistan reduced the summer flow of the river to a mere trickle and led to an acute shortage of water in Persian Seistan. Nothing would induce the Persians to believe that this shortage was not caused by the deliberate action of the Afghan Government. It was known that the Afghans were working through the American firm of Morrison-Knudsen on a project known as the Bogra Canal, which may at some future date absorb an undue share of the Helmand water, but a peremptory demand for the abandonment of the project was ignored by the Afghan Government and the Persians threatened to take the case before the United Nations Organisation. The matter has now been referred to the State Department in Washington and there is a hope that it may be settled by a neutral commission shortly to be appointed. The Afghans have agreed to this proposal and have already contributed their share of the estimated cost of the preliminary survey. The Persian contribution was still not forthcoming at the close of the year. A great deal of quite unnecessary ill-feeling has been engendered by this dispute. The Persian Ambassador in Kabul, who severely criticised his own Government, was, as a

result, recalled in August and has yet to be replaced.

It is perhaps inevitable that in Afghanistan, as in so many other countries, America should come more and more to take the place formerly held by Great Britain; the Helmand question, which ever since 1875 has been settled by British mediation, is a case in point. If the Afghan Government are to obtain the loan which is so necessary to them for the undertaking of any large-scale developments, it can only come from the United States. Negotiations for such a loan have been continuing for some months in Washington, and Abdul Majid Khan, the Minister of National Economy, who went to America for medical treatment in the summer, has remained to conduct them, but little progress appears to have been made. It is the hope of this loan which is understood to be one of the chief reasons for continuing in the country the work of the Morrison-Knudsen Company, which is proving a heavy burden on Afghan resources and has in many ways been most unsatisfactory. During the year Mr. Palmer, the American Ambassador, paid a visit to the United States in order to try and straighten out the tangle in the company's affairs. As a result many of the projects on which the company was working have been abandoned for the moment and work is chiefly being concentrated in the Kandahar area, where the main road from the Pakistan border has been virtually completed and where good progress has been made with the head-works for the Bogra Canal. The Peshawar-Kabul road, on which such high hopes for opening up the country were being placed, is the principal project which has been temporarily abandoned, but the derelict camps, erected at great expense and complete with electric light and air conditioning, are a standing reproach to American and Afghan mismanagement.

Afghanistan's relations with other countries have undergone no important changes and call for no particular comment. The French continue to provide at very cheap rates a number of doctors for the medical faculty and of teachers for the Istiqlal School. Some thirty Austrians arrived in Afghanistan in November, chiefly to advise on agriculture and forestry and to work on agricultural projects in the north. The exchange of diplomatic missions with Austria is under consideration. A Transjordanian Legation was opened in January,

followed in August by a Saudi Arabian. In June also the Afghan Government recognised the Republic of Indonesia and agreed to the appointment of one Aboul Oadir as Indonesian Minister. This gentleman paid two visits to Kabul during the year, the second in November, but, as his credentials were not in order, and as few other countries represented in Afghanistan had recognised the republic, he was not allowed to open his legation and has now returned to India. Agreement has also been given for the Swedish Ambassador at Moscow and the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires at Karachi to represent their countries in Afghanistan, but neither has yet presented his credentials. In international affairs the Afghan Government generally follow the policy of other Muslim States, but their support of the Arab cause in Palestine has been limited to the recognition of the so-called Government of Gaza and the collection of small sums of money. Over Indonesia they have been more outspoken. They show a particular readiness to follow the lead of Turkey, but, subject to these considerations, are often willing to ask for or to follow the advice of His Majesty's Government. A case in point has been their promise to support us over Cyrenaica in the United Nations Assembly.

The only change in consular representation during the year has been the decision to open an Indian Consulate, chiefly for passport work, in Kandahar. The British Consulates in Kandahar and Jalalabad, which are to be closed as soon as Pakistan is ready to take them over, still continue in their somewhat indeterminate state, as no agreement has yet been reached between Pakistan and Afghanistan as to the consulates that each will establish.

The internal situation in the provinces remains satisfactory and the Government seems generally to have succeeded in extending its control. In the Eastern Province operations against the unimportant but troublesome Safis were brought to a successful conclusion in March and the area has since remained peaceful. In Kandahar the Governor, Mohammad Yunus, has succeeded in asserting his authority in spite of the opposition of the mullahs. A cinema, which has been projected for the last five years but held up for fear of provoking trouble, was at last started in May, and the Governor and his family are frequent visitors to ensure that there shall be no disturbances. Two girls' schools, the

first in Kandahar, have also been opened, and in December a dramatic society from Kabul started to give performances without arousing any outward opposition. A few years ago a similar party was hounded out of the town by an angry mob. A minor riot took place in Kandahar in June as a result of excitement caused by a story that a Hindu had abducted and married a Muslim girl, but it was quickly quelled by the personal intervention of the Governor. Little has been heard of the Herat and Northern Provinces. An attempted deal between Meshed and Herat in petrol and kerosene oil broke down, but the reopening of trade across the Oxus with Russia has benefited Northern Afghanistan in general.

In the educational field some progress has been made, but the system whereby secondary education is carried out principally in French, American, German and British schools, each using its own language as the medium of instruction, is bound to lead to chaos. There has been an increase in the number of American teachers, two of whom have been working in Kandahar, the first foreigners other than Indians to be employed in schools in the provinces. The British Council is sending out reinforcements for the Ghazi college, which the Afghans would like to see run more on the lines of a British public school.

The press continues, together with the radio, to be under Government control and maintains a cautious neutrality on almost all international issues. It has given much space to the United Nations, which it has consistently supported. In particular, it organised a campaign on behalf of the United Nations appeal for children, which was well supported by the public, though it must be admitted that the appeal was combined with one for Afghan children and that the latter received the lion's share. Some space has recently been given to articles on the position of women, suggesting that the Government are feeling their way towards some slight emancipation. A number of articles on the subject of democracy in action have aimed at educating the country, more particularly in regard to the organisation of elections.

In this connexion a special mention should perhaps be made of the municipal elections, which resulted in the appointment of one Ghulam Muhammad, an electrical engineer trained in Germany and alleged at one time to be very pro-German, as Mayor of Kabul. This individual was in Europe on a purchasing mission when he was

elected; but he is apparently a man of energy and character though somewhat eccentric, and immediately on his return set to work with a will on badly-needed municipal reforms. Such enthusiasm has he inspired that voluntary and apparently entirely unsolicited subscriptions are now pouring into the municipal coffers for the improvement of the Afghan capital, an extraordinary tribute to his personality and honesty and surely an almost unique occurrence in municipal administration in the East.

The so-called Public Welfare Committee has also done good work in organising the rationing and distribution at reasonable prices of goods in short supply, especially

flour, sugar and piece-goods, though it must be admitted that their activities have benefited the inhabitants of Kabul more than the country as a whole. It is at least pleasant to be able to record in conclusion that, although corruption may be rife and the administration in many ways incredibly inefficient, yet the Government as a whole is benevolent in its intentions and endeavouring to work for the betterment of the country. Afghanistan is fortunate in possessing a number of men in high positions who are not wholly occupied in filling their own pockets at the expense of the poor but who are willing to spend their energies in working disinterestedly for the common good.

F 4612/1015/97

No. 3

GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION IN AFGHANISTAN

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 29th March)

(No. 28. Restricted)

Sir, *Kabul, 12th March, 1949.*

I have on several occasions recently had to refer to the Afghan Government's fear of the rising tide of public opinion. This fear is often used to explain outspoken articles in the press, and more particularly in defence of the support given by the Government to the Pathanistan movement, but it is by no means easy to judge whether it is merely an excuse for those members of the Government who support this movement, or whether it is indeed a force which it would be really dangerous for the Government to ignore.

2. It is inevitable that with the growth of education, especially in the capital, the young men who complete their education each year should take an increasing interest in world affairs in general, and in the Government of their country in particular. The principal boys' schools in Kabul, in which teaching is carried out either in English, French or German, have between them some 5,000 pupils, and it is only natural that they should learn from their European and American instructors to think for themselves. During the seventeen years in which the ex-Prime Minister, His Royal Highness Sardar Hashim Khan ruled the country, no public expression of opinion was permitted; but war-time restrictions caused widespread discontent, which was increased by the belief, however unjustified,

that the country was being run for the exclusive benefit of the Prime Minister and the ruling family. The resignation of Hashim Khan at the end of the war and his replacement by his popular and more liberal-minded brother, the present Prime Minister, in 1946, though it acted as a safety valve, brought no real relief. On the contrary, the relaxation of the strict controls formerly exercised in every branch of the Administration only aggravated the country's administrative and economic difficulties. The grant of independence to India and the general awakening of the East in the last few years, have induced in younger Afghans a far more critical frame of mind towards their own Government in its claims to be the upholder of that freedom and democracy, to which all Afghans have always paid high tribute, without, perhaps, any very clear understanding of what these two words denote.

3. The Government have by no means been blind to these developments and their dangers, but they have endeavoured to encourage the growth of healthy opinion while at the same time checking excesses. Fortunately, in such a small country, with everything concentrated in the capital, the task is not too formidable. Ali Mohammad, the present Foreign Minister, who was formerly Education Minister, and for whose wisdom and sanity I have the highest regard, told me recently that he personally

spends a great deal of his time discussing such matters with young people, most of whom he has known since the time they were in school, and all of them eager to write. He told me that he realised that it was no good merely banning or censoring articles; his object was rather to try and get would-be writers to air their views in an intelligent manner after studying their subjects, and to write constructively about them. In this way he hoped that the greater freedom now accorded to the press would not lead to a situation such as existed in Persia, where numberless scurrilous rags were produced, not in the interests of the country as a whole, but merely to satisfy personal grudges or for purely mercenary reasons. The appointment of Mr. Rishtiya, a young man of progressive views, albeit a rabid supporter of the Pathanistan idea, as head of the Press Department, was also designed to give liberty without undue licence to writers in the Afghan press.

4. In the last few months, indeed, a great change has come over the Kabul daily papers, though their number is still limited to two and both are under Government control. In 1933 our annual report for Afghanistan in dealing with the press contained this passage:—

"Comments on world affairs consisted for the most part of platitudes and showed little independence of judgment. Moral reflections filled many columns, and there appeared to be a steady demand for marvels of all kinds. Headings such as: 'A woman gives birth to a ghost,' 'Mice tear a cat to pieces in America' and 'Virgins nesting in trees' serve to remind the European reader how close to the Middle Ages Afghanistan still is in its mental outlook."

This criticism remained largely true until quite recently, though reports of "marvels" latterly became less prominent. Original articles, however, continue to be mostly non-political, while world affairs were covered by bare news reports from foreign sources and translations from the foreign press.

5. To-day, however, for every translated article there are one or more original articles, mostly on current topics of interest. World affairs are still treated with caution, and particular care is taken to avoid giving offence to Russia, but criticism of Western

imperialism follows the lead set by India, while the views of Islamic countries find general support. But Afghan topics are freely discussed, not only by the editors, but also by outside contributors in articles and letters. Afghanistan's economic difficulties, the shortage of foreign exchange, and Kabul municipal affairs, are the favourite subjects, and criticisms and suggestions are freely offered. Criticism of the Administration is by no means absent, though it is more cautiously expressed, while the ruling family are still only referred to in the most laudatory and flattering terms.

6. It is difficult to say how much importance should be attached to this vociferous public opinion. The many articles written last year on the subject of the Pathanistan question, the most burning issue of the day, were undoubtedly inspired by the Government and were suppressed by the Government when it suited them to do so. Some critics are, therefore, inclined to take the view that these lucubrations are nothing but a façade with no substance in them. Unfortunately, social contacts between foreigners and Afghans are still restricted, and diplomats, especially, can only meet a very limited number of senior officials. Any estimate of the strength of public opinion and the pressure it can bring to bear on the Government has, therefore, to be based on indirect evidence and must remain largely a matter of speculation. My own opinion is that tribal and religious opinion, which is mostly conservative, not to say reactionary, is still of greater importance than that of the young educated class, and that only on the rare occasions when the views held by the latter are in line with those of tribal elements, do the Afghan Government have to pay any real deference to them. Cases in point are the country's economic difficulties and, to a lesser extent, tribal opinion in the matter being divided, the Pathanistan question. There is however no doubt that public opinion is growing and is a force which the Government will have to take into ever-increasing account.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in New Delhi and Karachi and to His Majesty's Ambassadors in Moscow and Tehran.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

CONDITIONS IN NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN

Tour by the Afghan Prime Minister

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 4th April)

(No. 32)

Sir,

Kabul,
16th March, 1949.

I have the honour to inform you that His Royal Highness Shah Mahmud Khan, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, left for a tour of the northern province of Kataghan on 30th December, 1948, and returned to Kabul on 26th February.

2. While the primary object of the Prime Minister in making the tour was to stimulate by his presence and authority the progress of certain economic measures for increasing the self-sufficiency of the country and to settle certain disputes, Shah Mahmud was undoubtedly anxious to obtain first-hand information on the general internal situation in the province and particularly on the extent of Russian influence there. Reports in the Pakistan press and the intelligence summary prepared by the Pakistan Embassy in Kabul have tended to concentrate on this latter aspect of the tour and have suggested that the Prime Minister found that much discontent existed in the north and that Russian propaganda had made considerable headway. The Pakistan summary dated 5th March reports that on his return the Prime Minister "is said to have informed the King that the situation in the northern province is far from satisfactory. He attributed this to the harsh treatment of the corrupt officials and the Russian propaganda which is carried on through influential Uzbeks. He further told His Majesty that about 1,000 Turkomans had already migrated to Russian Turkestan, while others are ready to move. He then explained as to what steps he had taken to counter Russian propaganda and to stop further migration."

3. I had not previously received any information of emigration from Afghanistan to Russian Turkestan and I regard this report from the Pakistan Embassy as unlikely to be true. Certainly, movement on the scale suggested is not taking place. The account of the tour given in the official Kabul press referred to the difficulties caused by emigration to Kataghan from other parts of the country and the problem of distributing land fairly between them and the local residents. The report claims

that all these difficulties have been satisfactorily settled by the Prime Minister, who has further decided that in future he would himself deal personally with all questions of emigration.

4. It is a fact that for some years the policy of the Afghan Government has been to settle in the north Pathans from the eastern and southern provinces. By so doing they both stiffen the servile and indigenous population of the north against Russia and remove from the tribal areas unruly elements which are a perpetual source of difficulty to the Central Government. These Pathans adopt an arrogant and overbearing attitude towards the local inhabitants, to whom they regard themselves as a wholly superior race, and in this they are supported by the officials who are themselves mostly Pathans. I have previously had occasion to report the danger of serious discontent among the local inhabitants, mostly of Uzbek and Turkoman stock, as a result of the high-handed behaviour of Afghan officials. The truth appears to be that the very large number of refugees who poured into Afghanistan from Bokhara and its neighbourhood in the twenties and were settled by the Afghan Government on the vacant land in the northern provinces have not been given a fair deal, *vis-à-vis* the Pathans, from the south. A further cause of discontent, according to my information, is that the ruling family in Kabul take far too large a share of the newly irrigated lands for themselves. Near Pul-i-Khumri, for instance, a new canal has been dug by the local inhabitants, presumably mostly by forced labour, to irrigate some 25,000 acres of land. Of this area I am told that some 500 acres only has been allotted to the local inhabitants, while the balance has mostly been taken by Mohammad Hashim Khan, the ex-Prime Minister, by the former Minister of the Interior, the present head of the Agricultural Department and by Shah Mahmud himself. Such peasant proprietors as are left find it impossible to get a proper share of the water and are only too glad to sell their holdings for what they can get. It is obvious that such treatment

will be deeply resented by the Uzbek inhabitants, among whom there is much outspoken criticism of the Afghan Government and a few of them may even have preferred to return to their former homes north of the Oxus, a move which no doubt receives every encouragement from the Soviet authorities. I do not, however, think that this movement has assumed any serious dimensions and the settlement which the Prime Minister is now reported to have made will probably have a considerable effect in checking any such tendency.

5. As regards economic matters the Prime Minister paid particular attention to the necessity for the resumption of the cultivation of cotton and sugar beet. For two years the production of these two commodities has been virtually at a standstill and cultivators have concentrated on the production of food-grains. Partly because the grain situation has improved, but essentially because the serious foreign exchange position of the country makes it imperative that Afghanistan should immediately increase her self-sufficiency as far as possible, the cultivation of cotton and sugar-beet is to be resumed and the Prime Minister announced concessions in prices and in other directions designed to encourage the cultivators to plant these two crops. It is hoped that in the year 1949-50 the output of sugar-beet will be twice as much as that of any previous year and that the sugar factory at Baghlan will therefore be kept supplied for a longer period than at any time previous to its closure two years ago.

6. Other agricultural matters which engaged the Prime Minister's attention were the restriction of rice-growing to areas where it would not lead to the spread of malaria, the stimulation of cattle breeding by the reversion of certain cultivated areas to grazing and the institution of a system of awards for cattle of a minimum standard, and the establishment of a stud farm large enough to accommodate 1,000 brood mares. As regards irrigation, the Prime Minister ordered the preparation of plans for a big dam on the Kokchah River near the Shimah bridge (near the Oxus, north-east of Khanabad) which would also provide a hydro-electric station and a bridge across the river; and for a new canal in the region of Kilaki.

7. Among the engineering works on which His Royal Highness issued instructions were the repair of bridges throughout the province and the construction of a number of new ones, and the building of a few new secondary roads.

8. All reports indicate that the Prime Minister was everywhere received with enthusiasm. An American engineer employed by the Afghan Government, who accompanied him throughout his tour, informs me that he was much impressed by the trouble taken by the Prime Minister to examine the genuine needs of the people. He had large numbers of complaints and petitions to deal with every day (the local Governors apparently made no attempt to screen them) and wherever he went he was greeted by the whole population who, it was obvious, were genuinely delighted to see him and looked to him for orders and assistance. My informant knows no Persian and so heard no complaints. Nor could he say how far the Prime Minister's decisions were good, though he thought that perhaps he was too kind. This is, of course, a common criticism of the Prime Minister, whose liking for popularity and amenability to flattery are unfavourably regarded by those who think that Afghanistan still needs the strong and even ruthless government of his predecessor. But it is evident that the tour was a success in confirming the general loyalty of the north to the Central Government, in stimulating the local authorities to action in the many fields in which it is necessary, and in giving the Prime Minister himself a first-hand idea of present conditions. How far the local authorities will carry out the Prime Minister's orders is open to doubt. It is also a characteristic of the Afghans to make plans and then never to bring them to fruition and it is doubtful if any of the many projects for public works for which plans are to be prepared as a result of the Prime Minister's tour, will, in fact, be realised.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors in Moscow and Tehran and to the High Commissioners in Karachi and New Delhi.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE,

His Majesty's Ambassador.

FUTURE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

Pakistan Government's Views on Afghan Policy

Mr. Bevin to Sir G. Squire (Kabul)

(No. 28. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *29th April, 1949.*

On Monday, 25th April, I had a conversation, at which the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was present, with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sir Muhammed Zafrullah Khan on the subject of Pakistan's difficulties with Afghanistan on the North-West Frontier. The Secretary of the Pakistan Ministry for Foreign Affairs was also present. I told them that we had been somewhat disturbed by reports reaching us of tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and invited them to explain the present position as they saw it.

2. Zafrullah Khan replied that it was difficult to ascertain the motives for Afghanistan's present policy. The Pakistan Government had withdrawn their military forces from tribal territory in 1947 and had not taken provocative action. The Afghan Government had taken to advocating the name "Pathanistan" as the name for a North-West Frontier Province. The establishment of an independent State with this name had been supported by the Indian Congress in connexion with the referendum in 1947 in the province. When the Afghans began to support this proposal the Pakistanis had told them that it was no business of theirs and had reminded them that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly was the only competent body in which it could be raised. The Afghans considered that, as Pakistan was the Government responsible, it was for Pakistan to confer a name upon the region. In fact, there was something to be said for a change of names. The name "North-West Frontier Province" was no longer an apt description of that province. But it was for the peoples of the area to decide for themselves, and the Pakistan Government could not force a name upon them. There was particular difficulty in the choice of "Pathanistan" as an alternative. The Afghan Government, however, had continued to make propaganda on this issue and also about the action of the Pakistan Government in sending aircraft on entirely legitimate grounds to deal with an incident caused by the Faqir of Ipi.

3. The fact of the matter was that the tribesmen had not reacted as the Afghans had expected. Moreover, there seemed to be a certain amount of liaison, if nothing more, between Afghanistan and India. For himself, Zafrullah Khan was at a loss to understand Afghanistan's motives in this matter.

4. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that Pakistan, after the transfer of power, had entered into written agreements with the tribes and had continued the grant of allowances to them. The tribes had remained entirely loyal to Pakistan. It was only because Afghanistan was a Muslim country that the Government of Pakistan were ready to discuss with her what were really Pakistan's internal affairs. He had asked Shah Wali, the Afghan Ambassador in Karachi, what it was that the Afghans wanted. Did they want the tribes? Shah Wali had replied that they did not want the tribes because they could not afford to subsidise them. Thereupon Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had said to Shah Wali that Afghanistan's actions were producing a ridiculous situation in which the Afghans sitting in Kabul were calling the tune but expecting the Pakistan Government to pay. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan then commented that in Afghanistan all trade was in the hands of monopolies owned in the main by members of the Royal Family. This caused resentment. Moreover, in the north of Afghanistan the inhabitants were very similar in race to those of the neighbouring Soviet territory. On the Soviet side the people were well treated and well governed and this had an influence in Afghanistan, as indeed it was intended to have.

5. When I asked whether a rising of the tribes was anticipated, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan replied that so far the tribes had been very loyal, in spite of Afghan propaganda, and the only new demand on the part of the tribes was for increased allowances. He added that Pakistan could probably create more trouble for Afghanistan than the latter could for Pakistan—"I tell you I am not boasting. I could upset that dynasty. It only means spending a little

money. But I do not want to. It would only benefit Russia."

6. When I asked whether difficulties of transport through Pakistan contributed to Afghan-Pakistan tension, Zafrullah Khan replied that Shah Wali had made complaints about this to the Pakistan Finance Minister, but had admitted that things were now much better and that he was satisfied with the progress which was being made towards the restoration of normal conditions. In fact, the Pakistan Government was favouring Afghan traders at the expense of their own. The Afghans had no grounds for complaint on the score of transport difficulties. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan added that soon after the transfer of power Afghanistan had asked for a "free zone" to be set aside in Karachi for their trade, but that the Pakistan Government had refused this request.

7. As regards Afghanistan's defence problems, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said Afghan shortage of arms was not due to Pakistan, which was not detaining any arms supplies destined for Afghanistan.

8. I asked whether I was correct in thinking that the situation was perhaps not as serious as some reports had led us to believe and that, in fact, the Pakistan Government did not desire our help in any specific way. Zafrullah Khan confirmed this, but said that they would be grateful for anything that you could do in Kabul. I pointed out that your Excellency had, on my instructions, taken every opportunity to use your influence with the Afghan Government, and added that the United Kingdom Government was now exploring ways and means of helping the Afghans out of their economic difficulties. Zafrullah Khan said that it was true that Afghanistan was in difficulties, but this was mainly their own fault. For example, their exchange control was not efficiently administered, exporters being allowed to retain a proportion of the foreign exchange proceeds of their exports. Afghanistan was also suffering from inflation. There was no doubt that any help given would be a step in the right direction. He suggested that we should look into the working of the Afghan exchange control. Afghanistan must set her own house in order.

9. I then called attention to reports that the Afghans were indulging in wild talk of war. Zafrullah Khan said that he did not think the Afghans would be so foolish as to go to war when they knew that they

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were in the wrong, but they might incite the tribes to make trouble.

10. I outlined the action we had taken, explaining that we had not yet had a clear statement from Afghanistan of their complaints. We did not want to get involved politically, but at the same time we did not want trouble to arise on the North-West Frontier. We were trying to do what we could to help in the economic sphere. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that in spite of all Afghanistan's propaganda about the Pakistan air force butchering women and children, the tribes were on the whole quiet. There was a natural feeling of sympathy between the tribesmen and the Pakistanis. Previously the tribes had looked on the British rulers of India as foreigners; now Afghanistan was trying to make propaganda to the effect that Pakistan was, in fact, not a Muslim State but merely a British puppet. They quoted Pakistan's continued employment of British officers, such as Sir Ambrose Dundas. They were taking this line because they had failed to incite the tribes.

11. When I asked whether there was anything which we could do more than we had already done in Kabul, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan asked, in his turn, whether you had made it clear that Britain could not be a disinterested spectator in the event of trouble between Afghanistan and Pakistan. I read extracts from an aide-memoire prepared from your telegram No. 86 and summarising your representations to the Afghan Government; and I handed a copy of the aide-memoire to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that the Pakistan policy was to do nothing to create irritation, and to maintain in force all the trade concessions which had been in force before. These were worth about 4 crores rupees (£3 million) to Afghanistan.

12. Mr. Noel-Baker said that Sir Girja Bajpai had told him that the Indian Government's advice to the Afghan Government had stressed the importance of peace between Afghanistan and Pakistan and of stability in the tribal areas, where trouble would profit none except the Russians.

13. I concluded by saying that if we could obtain the right temperature there might be advantage in tripartite discussions between Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United Kingdom. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan commented that it would, of course, first be necessary for Afghanistan to stop the present agitation. I agreed, but urged

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that, once this had been done, there might be a possibility of making progress through tripartite discussions. If Afghanistan and Pakistan would come together over the tribal issue we might be able to help economically. I said also that I was advising the Cabinet that we should try to bring the present agitation and irritation to an end, and that we should then examine the Afghan requests and invite Pakistan to join in talks. By these means it might be

possible to do something constructive to keep the peace on the North-West Frontier and to improve conditions there. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan agreed with this policy, adding that there was more democracy and more freedom in Pakistan than in Afghanistan and that it was, therefore, not surprising that the tribes were loyal to Pakistan.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

F 6536/1061/97

No. 6

AFGHAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Crisis over the North-West Frontier Province

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th May)

(No. 44. Confidential)
Sir,

Kabul,
16th April, 1949.

It may be useful if I attempt to give a brief review of the circumstances leading to the present unfortunate situation prevailing between Afghanistan and Pakistan. When, in my despatch No. 25 of 4th March, I reported on my talks with leading Afghan personages, there was no hint of any serious resentment against Pakistan, though there was disappointment that more progress had not been made in the negotiations. These conversations gave ground for hope that the views expressed by Ali Mohammed, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and reported in my earlier despatch No. 20 of 18th February, were unduly pessimistic. Ali Mohammed unfortunately proved the truer prophet.

2. Two incidents early in March precipitated the crisis; statements by the governor-general of Pakistan during a tour of the North-West Frontier Province to the effect that his Government considered the tribal areas to be part and parcel of Pakistan; and the use of a Pakistan plane in the dispersal of a gang attacking a post in Waziristan. These incidents were at once misrepresented in Kabul as the illegal annexation of the tribal areas and an unprovoked attack on Afghan women and children, hundreds of whom were reported to have been killed. It almost looks as if the Afghan Government were only waiting for some such pretext for a change from their previous policy of peaceful argument. Without waiting for any kind of verification of these reports

the Afghan Embassy in Karachi and the press and radio in Kabul launched violent attacks on Pakistan on both counts.

3. It is possible, though by no means certain, that a prompt and friendly explanation of the two incidents by the Pakistan Embassy in Kabul might have calmed the storm, but the Ambassador was not prepared to do anything on his own initiative and the Pakistan Government only made matters worse by lodging a counter-protest with the Afghans and informing them that they refused to tolerate any longer Afghan interference in what they claimed to be a purely domestic affair. Egged on by Shah Wali Khan who was piqued at the failure of his mission in Karachi, and by Faiz Mohammed Khan who has always been Afghanistan's evil genius, the Prime Minister hurried off to Jalalabad where, in the rôle of Mark Antony, he set to work to excite the tribes and rally them behind the Government, while ostensibly counselling prudence. Meetings and demonstrations have been organised by the Government throughout the country at which loathing of Pakistan's aggression and determination to fight to the death for their oppressed brethren in the tribal areas have been expressed. Even the Hazaras, who are notoriously hostile to their Afghan overlords, were reported as having staged a demonstration in front of the Governorate of Kabul. (I am told that this particular demonstration in fact consisted of a handful of labourers who were rounded up by the police, marched to the

Governorate and there ordered to "demonstrate.") In Kandahar the demonstration took the form of a schoolboy procession in the course of which, so the story goes, certain boys, who rashly chanted "Pakistan Zindabad" (Long live Pakistan!) instead of "Pakistan Murdabad" (Down with Pakistan!), were arrested.

4. The press and radio have been unremitting in their efforts to make a bad situation worse and when there has been no retort on the part of Pakistan to form the basis of further attacks, statements seem to have been distorted or even invented to suit the Afghan purpose. Thus Pakistan radio has been quoted as saying "The Pakistan Government have never given the Afghan Government any assurances whatever regarding the tribes" while Abdul Qayum Khan, the Frontier Prime Minister, is reported to have said that the only solution of the problem would be the absorption of Afghanistan in Pakistan. Unfortunately the Pakistan Ambassador, to whom I spoke subsequently, failed to take immediate steps to ascertain the facts in either case or to contradict the interpretations put upon them by the Afghan press.

5. The Turkish Ambassador and others of my colleagues have naturally been much perturbed at the open talk of war, and the former has been endeavouring to inform himself of the details of the Afghan case. It will be noticed that, whereas until this new development the Afghan Government seemed to have been reasonably satisfied with Pakistan's assurances that they would not coerce the tribal areas into closer unity with Pakistan, and had concentrated chiefly on their claim that the province as a whole should be given a new name, they have now turned their attention almost exclusively to the former question. Looked at from a purely legal point of view they have some grounds for contesting Pakistan's claim that an expression of their interest in the tribal areas is unwarrantable interference in Pakistan's domestic affairs. The fourth enclosure to the treaty of 1921 expressly recognises the interest of the Afghan Government in the tribal areas; and it is at least arguable that the cancellation of all treaties and agreements between the tribal chiefs and the British Government on 15th August, 1947, left them in fact free to join Afghanistan if they felt so disposed. The Afghans refuse to admit that, whatever the theoretical position may have been on 15th August,

the *status quo* was restored when the tribes themselves voluntarily asked that their agreements should be continued with the new Government of Pakistan. These agreements, if considered at all by Afghanistan, are claimed by them to have been obtained under duress, and they demand at least the right to discuss the matter with the Pakistan Government. It seems a pity that the Pakistan Government should not have allowed the conversations to continue, and thus have given further time for the situation in the tribal areas to settle down of their own accord.

6. It is very difficult to judge the effect of all this propaganda on the country as a whole. The younger elements in Kabul itself, especially the students, are easily excited and listen avidly to all propaganda of this nature. There are, however, many people who are or were opposed to their Government and who can still see no reason why real friendship should not be established with Pakistan. As far as one can judge, the effects of the propaganda in Kabul have been distinctly unsettling and there is considerable feeling against Pakistan and to a lesser degree against Great Britain, but I doubt whether the Government have enhanced their own popularity to any great extent. The situation in the tribal areas is more difficult to gauge. The Afghan tribes seem generally to support the Afghan Government, though I doubt if this support is quite as wholehearted as the Afghan press pretend. In the tribal areas east of the Durand line both Afghanistan and Pakistan claim that they have general support. As far as I can judge, there is only a small minority of malcontents, chiefly among the Mahsuds and Wazirs, who wholeheartedly support the Afghan Government, though there are doubtless many others who are prepared to offer their allegiance to either side, or to both sides at once, if they see any profit in such a course. It would seem then that if any serious trouble is caused at all it may well take the form of fighting among the tribes themselves. But to what extent such fighting might spread it is impossible to say.

7. The chief difficulty of finding any solution lies in the personal characters of the protagonists on the Afghan side, all of whom, with the possible exception of Ali Mohammed, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, seem to have lost their heads completely. The Prime Minister was once likened by my predecessor, on the occasion

of the defeat of an Afghan football team, to a spoilt child who had lost his rattle. He is, I think, incapable of thinking for himself, is surrounded by "Yes-men" and is very much under the influence of Faiz Mohammed Khan. Shah Wali, whom I have normally found reasonable and open to arguments, is rabid on the subject of Pakistan. That a member of the Royal family and uncle of the King should have been treated with such scant respect by Pakistan that his requests should have been summarily rejected is extremely galling to him. Any suggestion to these three that Afghanistan's present policy will be suicidal is countered with the reply that death is a hundred times better than dishonour. The most dangerous of the three is undoubtedly Faiz Mohammed Khan who has always been the chief advocate of "Pathanistan," and who is clever enough and plausible enough to have the Prime Minister completely under his thumb. If Ali Mohammed is successful in getting him sent back to his post in London there may yet be a chance of the situation being retrieved.

8. It is by no means easy to say what the Afghan objective in all this campaign really is, if indeed they have an objective at all. References in the press to the achievements of the Jews against the superior numbers of the Arab countries might lead one to the conclusion that the Afghans have realised from events in Palestine, Kashmir, Hyderabad, and elsewhere that under present conditions successful aggression is the surest prelude

to official recognition, and that possession is a great deal more than nine-tenths of the United Nation's law. I feel sure that this at least is in the mind of Faiz Mohammed Khan, and that if he saw a possibility of enlisting sufficient support among the tribes he might well advocate "police action" to establish Afghan control not only in the tribal areas but also in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province. Fortunately there seems little chance of this. I think that the Afghans realise this and that their present outburst is in the main a display of childish temper, the best treatment for which is standing in the corner until passions are cooled.

9. My colleagues, and especially the Turkish Ambassador who is the dean of the Diplomatic Corps, have been active in counselling moderation. They have pointed out that for Afghanistan to go to war without even considering her obligations as a member of the United Nations would be disastrous to her reputation and would bring on her the condemnation of the whole world. There is hope that such counsels may have a sobering effect. I shall of course continue to report important developments by telegram.

10. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in New Delhi and Karachi and to His Majesty's Ambassadors in Washington, Angora, Moscow and Tehran.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

F 7043/1018/97

No. 7

ELECTIONS FOR THE AFGHAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 16th May)

(No. 52. Confidential)

Kabul,

Sir,

6th May, 1949.

I have the honour to inform you that elections for the National Council took place throughout Afghanistan in the first half of April.

2. The National Council or "Shura-i-Milli," formed in 1931 by King Nadir Shah soon after he came to the throne, was derived by him from the Great Assembly instituted by King Amanullah. A description of the composition and functions

of the National Council is to be found in paragraphs 27-66 of the "Fundamental Principles of the Government of Afghanistan" enclosed in Sir Richard Maconochie's despatch No. 13 of 27th January, 1932. A new council is elected every three years, and the present body is the seventh since its establishment. Previously the deliberations of the members of the council exercised virtually no influence on the conduct of the Government of Afghanistan and I transmit to you herewith a minute⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

by the then Oriental Secretary, dated 23rd September, 1941, which gives some details of the ineffectiveness of this body. But there is reason to believe that, partly owing to the freer methods of election employed in selecting members for the seventh council as a result of the present Prime Minister's more liberal policy and partly owing to the present unstable political situation in Afghanistan, the new council may for the first time exercise an appreciable influence on the course of events in the country. This is certainly the opinion of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has told me that the council will be a real Parliament and much more troublesome to the Government than any of its predecessors.

3. This view is also supported by what is known of the characters and past history of some of the members who have been elected. The election of Dr. Mahmudi to represent Kabul and of Salahuddin Saljuki to represent Herat is particularly noteworthy. Dr. Mahmudi is a native of Kabul and has a Russian degree in medicine, though I do not know whether he actually studied in Russia. A few months ago he was imprisoned for a short period because of a violent speech he made against the Government. Salahuddin Saljuki was formerly Afghan Consul-General in Delhi and later Chief of the Press Department. Until recently he has been Counsellor with the rank of Minister in the Afghan Embassy in Karachi. A clever but irresponsible person, he is reported to be assembling some twenty other like-minded persons to act together as a party in the council. No doubt he and other hot-heads, who are rabid Nationalists, will raise the issue of Afghan-Pakistan relations as soon as possible. It may then be that the Afghan Government will in fact find themselves in the unpleasant position in which they have already claimed to be, namely, of being unable to adopt the moderate attitude towards Pakistan on the Pathanistan issue which they would wish because of the pressure of public opinion.

4. I have received varying reports as to the genuineness of the elections on this occasion. It is certain that they were freer generally than is normally the case, and in Kabul itself I have no doubt that they were genuine. On the other hand the Pakistan Ambassador has informed me that the method employed in the provinces was for the Governor to call together a few hundred people and to propose a candidate,

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who was then promptly elected. Contrary to the practice in previous years, according to Mr. Chundrigar, the Central Government did not themselves nominate the candidates either in Kabul or the rest of the country. In fact, they sent no instructions at all to local Governments. The result is that the Governors nominated their own friends, who, therefore, have no direct loyalty to the Central Government.

5. An indication of the extent of the challenge which the new council may present to the Government will be provided when its 171 members assemble—as they are expected to—towards the end of May and proceed to elect their own president and chairmen of committees. Hitherto it has always been possible for the Government to install their own nominees, but they may find it more difficult on this occasion. Moreover, if an independent and energetic president is elected, subjects embarrassing to the Government will certainly be admitted to debate, and there might even be an attempt to change the rules of the council in a more democratic direction and thus to challenge the Government directly. The council has in fact the power to make its own rules of procedure.

6. Simultaneously with the election of the National Council, members of provincial advisory councils were also elected. The same poll was used for both elections, the runner-up to the National Council Deputy normally being elected a member of the local advisory council, though some of the less advanced constituencies do not elect members of the advisory councils. The councils which meet at the headquarters of the provincial governorates consist of a certain number of elected members together with senior officials of the province, and their function is purely advisory.

7. In addition to the National Council, Parliament includes a House of Nobles or "Majlis-i-Ayan," the fifty members of which are directly appointed by the King. A description of its functions is similarly to be found in Sir Richard Maconochie's despatch under reference.

8. The Great Assembly or Loe Jirga instituted by King Amanullah and referred to in paragraph 2 above is not wholly dead. It is larger and in fact more truly representative than the National Council, being composed of delegates from each province and tribe throughout the country. It was used by King Nadir Shah in 1930, both to confirm his accession to the throne and as the basis of the first National

Council. It was convened again in 1941 to confirm the Government's policy regarding the expulsion of Axis nationals; and the possibility of summoning it in the near future in order to demonstrate national support for the Government's policy towards Pakistan has been freely canvassed recently. It may be that the Government will use the election of the National Council as an excuse for retiring from the position into which they have got themselves in this connexion by their talk of a Loe Jirga, by suggesting that the summoning of the latter is no longer necessary

since a body representing an up-to-date reflection of the people's will is already in existence. In fact, a Loe Jirga, by reason of its indigenous origin, size and associations would only be convened to discuss a matter regarded as one of life or death for Afghanistan. Hence the use of the threat of a Loe Jirga in the present propaganda war with Pakistan.

9. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Karachi.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

F 7554/1941/97

No. 8

AFGHAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Basis of Afghan Attitude over the North-West Frontier Province

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Scott. (Received 24th May)

Kabul,

13th May, 1949

My dear Scott,

Thank you for your letter of 20th April about the Afghan-Pakistan jig-saw. I have purposely refrained from cumbering what must be your already very bulky files with too much speculation, but I will gladly do my best to give you the picture as we see it here.

2. In the first place I think we can definitely rule out outside inspiration. The issue is a purely domestic one. This is not to say that Russia and some elements in India may not be only too glad to fish in troubled waters: but the Afghan Government hotly repudiate, and, I think, with complete sincerity, any suggestion that they are working under foreign tuition.

3. How far the other considerations which you mention, such as economic and domestic difficulties come into it, it is very hard to say; they may play a part but it is only a minor one. I think that perhaps in this, as in other countries, we are inclined to delve much more deeply than is necessary to find abstruse causes for what has really a very simple explanation. To the Afghans the tribal question is fundamental. I do not know whether you have ever come across Amir Abdur Rahman's autobiography. Volume two of this work is considered by the Afghans to be their political Bible and the policy which he laid down for his successors has been followed ever since. This accounts for Afghan insistence on the importance of Lord

Lansdowne's letter of 1892 (of which, incidentally, I would much like to see a copy when one is provided for Pakistan). This letter, along with the Treaty of 1893, was apparently annotated by Amir Abdur Rahman in his own hand and Faiz Mohammed, in particular, is always referring to his interpretations and the instructions he gave as regards the tribes. The more one reads the history of past negotiations on this subject, the more clearly one sees how the Afghans have always relied on the support of the tribes. Whatever may have been the letter of their agreements on the subject, they have consistently striven to maintain their influence with them and have resisted all attempts on the part of the Government of India to get them to dissociate themselves from the tribes or to discontinue payments of tribal allowances to their head-men. How right they were is proved by the events of 1927-28. Amanullah lost his throne because his own tribes refused to support him and Nadir Shah failed entirely to regain it until he succeeded in enlisting the support of ours.

4. Any attempt, real or imaginary, therefore, to sever this connexion with the tribes is and will always be resisted by the Afghans to the utmost. You may perhaps remember that the one thing which really disturbed the Afghan Government in His Majesty's Government's reply to their pre-partition representations about the future of the North-West Frontier Province was the

statement that the tribal area was an integral part of India. They immediately set to work to contest this assertion. When, therefore, the Governor-General of Pakistan suddenly introduced an almost identical phrase in his address to certain tribesmen on the frontier last March, it immediately raised a storm. The Afghans took it up violently in their press and radio instead of waiting for an explanation; and Pakistan's impatient reply that they had no right whatever to interfere in this matter roused the most violent opposition. Pakistan had slammed the door of negotiation in their face.

5. The bombing incident, mild though it was, happened to come at the same time and made matters infinitely worse. The Afghans always protested to the former Government of India against any bombing of the tribes, and very rudely too; but we never cared to make a major issue out of these complaints and contented ourselves with explaining patiently that such action was necessary to maintain security, &c. The Afghans, therefore, were genuinely surprised when Pakistan took offence at what to them was a perfectly normal procedure.

6. In thinking of Afghanistan I always remember Wylie's description of the Prime Minister as a child with a rattle. I think the Afghan reactions are as simple and as complex as those of a child. Ever since Afghan history began—and in spite of Najibullah Khan's "Aryana" theories, I suppose we may say it only began in about 1840 with Dost Mohammed Khan—the Government of India has been its nurse, with, of course, the Russian ogre in the background. Now the nurse has suddenly

gone and the child is left in a wicked world to fend for itself. As long as its nurse was there it could lose its temper and kick, but it knew that nothing more serious would happen than being stood in the corner or an occasional spanking; and that when it was good again it would be restored to favour. Now it has lost its bearings and is bewildered. The Afghans cannot understand why they should now be receiving such very different treatment from that to which through all these years they have been accustomed, and it is perhaps too much to expect that they should be either temperate or logical.

7. This, though naturally over-simplified, is, I believe, the essential picture. The problem now is to find some means of bringing the two countries together again. Faiz Mohammed has left to return to London and the Afghans are beginning to recover their temper. They are naturally annoyed that the Pakistan press and radio have been to some extent repaying them in their own coin, but I think that they have also been impressed by the fact that the Pakistan Government have not yielded to the very natural temptation to take active retaliatory measures but, on the contrary, have continued to do their best to help Afghanistan in economic and other matters. All the Afghan Government now want is to be allowed to continue to discuss this, to them, vital problem of the tribes. Can the door be opened again sufficiently to allow them to do so?

8. I am sending a copy of this letter to Graffey-Smith.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

F 9585/1061/97

No. 9

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE AFGHAN AMBASSADOR

Afghan-Pakistan Relations

Mr. Bevin to Sir G. Squire (Kabul)

(No. 43. Confidential)

Foreign Office,
1st July, 1949.

The Afghan Ambassador called on me on 29th June at my request. He said that he wished to ask my advice and to invoke the assistance of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in regard to

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matters at issue between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and hoped that we would be able to help Afghanistan to find a way out of the present difficult situation.

2. I said that I had studied this question carefully and would try to give him as good advice as I could. In the first place, I said,

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Afghanistan should recognise the principle that Pakistan had succeeded to all rights and obligations up to the Durand Line. If that principle were accepted, then I thought that the two countries should be able together to settle outstanding questions. I said that I understood that the Afghan Government accepted the Durand Line as the frontier.

3. Faiz Mohammed replied that Afghanistan accepted the Durand Line as the boundary of Afghanistan, but that they had documents showing that the tribal areas on the Indian side were "independent." The Afghan Government did not accept the statement of the Governor-General of Pakistan that the tribal areas were an integral part of Pakistan. The 1921 Anglo-Afghan Treaty and the letter from Sir H. Dobbs recognised the Afghan interest in the tribes.

4. I replied that according to our understanding the area up to the Durand Line had been an area for which we were responsible and that it was now an area for which Pakistan, as our successor, was responsible.

5. Faiz Mohammed said that the Afghan Government had letters from Lord Lansdowne in 1893 declaring the independence of the tribal areas and it was on this basis that Amin Abdur Rahman had accepted the Durand Mission. He had been Foreign Minister of Afghanistan for ten years and had kept on reminding British Ambassadors of the independence of the tribal areas.

6. I asked whether it was not correct that the 1921 Treaty provided that the Afghans must not interfere in the tribal areas on the Indian—now Pakistan—side of the frontier. When Faiz Mohammed replied that that was correct, I asked what then was in dispute.

7. Faiz Mohammed replied that the Afghans accepted that they had no claim to the tribal areas but that this did not mean that these areas were part of Pakistan. They were a kind of no man's land between the North-West Frontier Province and Afghanistan. Amir Abdur had commented (in Persian) on Lord Lansdowne's letter: "I accept the independence of these peoples and will take my levies away from the territory. But we must always maintain the independence of these areas." The British had made treaties with the tribesmen for railways and for roads just as they made treaties and secured concessions from the Persians.

8. I said that the right view was to accept the Durand Line as the frontier as it had been in British times, and that Pakistan had done no more than we used to do in our time. I added that this agitation was endangering peace in that part of the world. It was causing disturbances which ought not to go on, and I could not see that the dispute need continue.

9. When I asked what in fact was the Afghan complaint, Faiz Mohammed replied that Pakistan had declared the area an integral part of Pakistan.

10. Thereupon I asked why, if there were any points in dispute, were they not discussed with Pakistan. To this Faiz Mohammed replied that the Pakistanis refused to discuss.

11. I repeated that in my view the Durand Line had been the frontier of the British Empire. We regarded Pakistan as inheriting our rights in that area. If there were any question of any breach of the conditions on which Pakistan inherited our rights and obligations, then there might be some need for discussions. But I had seen nothing to suggest that Pakistan had taken any action different from the action which we used to take.

12. Faiz Mohammed replied that the Afghans did not recognise Pakistan's control of the territory up to the Durand Line. The tribal areas had never been "administered."

13. I stressed that I had done my best to improve relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan and had helped Afghanistan over trade matters and over their use of the port of Karachi and so on. The agitation now being stirred up by the Afghans in all Moslem countries was dangerous and should stop. If there were any real grounds for dispute, let there be a conference with Pakistan, on the basis of the formula that Pakistan had succeeded to responsibility for the area on the same terms and conditions as the British had previously held it. But in our view there was in fact no real cause for a dispute.

14. Faiz Mohammed then shifted his ground. He said that Afghanistan did not recognise Pakistan's succession to rights in the area; on which I commented that this was an entirely new point. He answered that Britain had taken territory by force from Afghanistan, and that Afghanistan could not recognise that the territory in question had passed to Pakistan after the British left India.

15. I pointed out that so far as I knew there was no agitation in the area; it was promoted from outside and might have very dangerous consequences.

16. Faiz Mohammed asked where could Afghanistan go for justice; here was Britain building up the new nation of Pakistan, and killing the old nation of Afghanistan.

17. I then referred to the bombing incident, which had been mentioned in a note dated 16th June which I had received from the Afghan Ambassador, and which forms the first enclosure to this despatch. I said that I understood that Pakistan had offered a joint enquiry with Afghanistan and I thought this should be accepted. Faiz Mohammed replied that there had already been an enquiry by the foreign military attachés in Kabul, but I reminded him that this had not been a joint Afghan-Pakistan enquiry, which was what was required and which I understood the Pakistan Government had proposed, and he promised to ask his Government about this.

18. I told Faiz Mohammed that what I was saying to him was the same as I had said to the Pakistan authorities, namely, that Britain had handed over her rights in that area to Pakistan and that we took our stand on this basis.

19. Faiz Mohammed repeated that the tribal area in the Afghan view was independent territory and not a part of Pakistan. If both sides accepted that it was not part of Pakistan, then it would be possible to have discussions. But Pakistan must not provoke the tribes against Afghanistan.

20. I said that I had been assured by Pakistan that they were not provoking the tribes against Afghanistan. He asked how then could Pakistan account for the help they had given to Amin Jan, and I replied that my information was to the opposite effect and that Pakistan had not helped Amin Jan.

21. Faiz Mohammed repeated that the Afghans were positive that Amin Jan had been helped by the Pakistanis and that Amin Jan's force had been dispersed, not by Pakistan, but by the tribesmen. The Afghan dispute with Pakistan had started two months ago with the declaration of the Pakistan Governor-General that the tribal areas were an integral part of Pakistan.

22. I told him plainly that my advice to the Afghan Government was to sit down as statesmen and settle it with Pakistan.

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He replied that Afghanistan was ready to do this, but could not, unless Pakistan recognised the independence of the tribes.

23. I said that it was impossible to impose conditions like this before talks took place, and that my recommendation was for a round-table conference between Afghanistan and Pakistan to settle any outstanding issues. There had been too much controversy, which might lead to war, which would be bad not only for Pakistan but for Afghanistan. I warned Faiz Mohammed that, if the Afghans started trouble in the tribal areas, they were playing with grave dangers which might jeopardise their régime.

24. Faiz Mohammed replied that he was a man of peace. The Afghans wished to be brothers of the Pakistanis, but could not go to a conference unless Pakistan accepted the independence of the tribes.

25. I reaffirmed that I was asking Afghanistan to accept only what they had always accepted, and that Pakistan had succeeded to the British position.

26. He answered that they accepted the Durand Line as the boundary between Afghanistan and the independent tribal areas. These independent areas were the areas which lay between the Durand Line and the North-West Frontier Province. Afghanistan would not go beyond the Durand Line if Pakistan recognised the independence of the tribes. Britain had cut off two parts of Afghanistan: the North-West Frontier Province (which Afghanistan admitted used to be part of India and was now part of Pakistan), and the tribal areas, which Afghanistan had never acknowledged as part of India. They were not for Afghanistan and not for Pakistan, but independent, and must remain so. On this basis only would it be possible to talk to Pakistan about, for example, how to help the people and how to improve their conditions. They would have no objection to Pakistan trying to recruit armies in the tribal areas for use against anyone. Pakistan had even recruited Afghans in Pakistan for service in Kashmir. Thus Afghanistan had done a great deal for Pakistan, who asked for only one thing, and that was that people of Afghan race should not be absorbed into Pakistan.

27. I again repeated that the position in the tribal areas was, as I saw it, exactly as it had been in British times, with the difference that Pakistan had succeeded to

our rights and obligations. I emphasised again that I had been perturbed about the agitation because it might lead to very grave troubles.

28. In conclusion, I reminded the Afghan Ambassador that a serious responsibility lay upon his Government not to disturb the peace in that part of the world. He had, I said, asked me for my advice, and I had given it: I hoped that he and his Government would weigh it carefully.

29. I attach as second enclosure to this despatch a copy of the reply which has been returned to the note of 16th June from the Afghan Embassy.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

Enclosure 1 in No. 9

F 8793/1061/97

Faiz Mohammed Khan to Mr. Bevin

The Afghan Ambassador, by order of his Government, is sending this note to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to bring to his attention the present situation between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

For eight months past Pakistan has been intriguing against the Government of Afghanistan by bringing Mohammed Amin, one of the younger brothers of the ex-King Amanullah, into Southern Waziristan to prepare a plan for creating trouble in Afghanistan.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry several times protested against this political crime and malicious policy of Pakistan and the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan even sent notes containing full information of the matter to the British Ambassador at Kabul, requesting that he should inform the Foreign Office here in London as to what had been done.

None of these protestations of the Afghan Foreign Ministry had any effect upon Pakistan. They induced Mohammed Amin to attack Afghan territory with a small force of Pakistanis, but Mohammed Amin's army soon dwindled and left him alone with some few of his Pakistan friends to go back to his former residence in Southern Waziristan. In order to distract attention from their failure in this policy of intriguing with Mohammed Amin, the Pakistan authorities sent aero-

planes over the Afghan borders into Moghul Khail, lying within Afghan territory, to attack the people who were opposing the ex-King's brother, and there dropped five bombs, killing fifteen and injuring twelve people, and to conceal their real intention they proclaimed that they were attacking the Fakir Epi's people.

The real situation is that this atrocious action and aggression on the part of Pakistan was protested against by the Afghan Government to the Pakistan Ambassador at Kabul, and the text of this protest, with full information of this aggression, was sent to every foreign embassy or legation in Kabul.

The Afghan Embassy in London draws the attention of His Britannic Majesty's Government to these facts, and expresses the hope that full consideration will be given to these atrocities committed by Pakistan, and at the same time would convey a warning that the situation is extremely grave, and that the Afghan Government must disclaim any responsibility for the present situation should it develop still further.

*Royal Afghan Embassy,
16th June, 1949.*

Enclosure 2 in No. 9

F 8793/1061/97

Mr. Bevin to Faiz Mohammed Khan

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs presents his compliments to the Afghan Ambassador and, with reference to his Excellency's communication of 16th June, regarding the situation on the Afghan-Pakistan frontier, has the honour to state that, according to the information in the possession of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the activities of Amin Jan were discouraged by the Government of Pakistan.

2. As regards the bombing incident to which the Afghan Ambassador refers in his note, His Majesty's Government hold the view that the most satisfactory method of disposing of incidents of this kind is for the Governments concerned to institute a joint enquiry in order to establish all the relevant facts, and they would suggest that the Afghan Government take steps to

arrange such an enquiry with the Government of Pakistan.

3. His Majesty's Government have seen with regret the differences which have arisen between the Governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan about the status of the territories on the North-West Frontier. They adhere to the view which they have already expressed, that Pakistan is in international law the inheritor of the rights and duties of the old Government of India and of His Majesty's Government

in the United Kingdom in these territories, and that the Durand Line is the international frontier. They believe that there is no outstanding question between the Governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan which cannot be settled by peaceful means on that basis. They hope that the Afghan Government will take no action and make no public statement which might prejudice the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

Foreign Office, 1st July, 1949.

F 10284/1902/97

No. 10

AFGHANISTAN: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 11th July)

(No. 79. Confidential)
Sir,

Kabul,

1st July, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 94 of 1st July, 1948, I have the honour to transmit herewith a revised report on the Heads of Foreign Missions in Kabul.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

Enclosure in No. 10

Report on Heads of Foreign Missions in Kabul

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

China

M. Hsu Nien-tseng, minister.

*Arrived in Kabul on 31st January, 1947, and presented his credentials on 15th February, 1947. A career diplomat who served in France throughout World War I and then, until 1921, with the League of Nations. He has also served in Denmark, Sweden, Hanoi and Khabarovsk. Was minister in Cairo in 1943-46. He speaks French fairly fluently and a little Russian. His English is poor. His home is in Shanghai. He appears to be definitely anti-Russian and violently anti-Communist and to be very friendly towards the British and Americans. I have not seen much of him, but he seems to be a little lost in Kabul, where, of course, he has nothing to do. (Written in 1947.)

M. Hsu Nien-tseng continues to be a friendly, though ineffective, colleague. (Written in 1948.)

M. Hsu left Kabul in April 1949, ostensibly on leave but is not expected to return. The Legation has since been in charge of a mild young First Secretary from Teheran named M. Pao-Chi Tien.

Egypt

Since the departure of Matar Bey at the end of 1948 the Legation has been successively in the charge of three young attachés. The last of these, Amin Helmy, is an affable young man who entertains well, but the political influence of the Legation is nil.

France

M. Henri Paul Roux, minister.

Presented his credentials on 23rd June, 1948. Born 1900. Joined the French diplomatic service in 1928 and served in Syria, Turkey and Bulgaria. Appointed counsellor and chargé d'affaires at New Delhi in January 1947.

I have not had time to get well acquainted with M. Roux but he seems to be a pleasant individual with a lively sense of humour and to be sympathetic towards British interests.

Mme. Roux is a Spaniard. She speaks French and Spanish only. The Roux's have a daughter who is not here. (Written in 1948.)

My first impression of M. Roux has been confirmed. M. Roux has even achieved the difficult distinction of being popular with the whole of the French community. He and Mme Roux have not, however, been well here and she is at present in France.

The French Legation has now been raised to be an Embassy, and M. Roux is to be the first ambassador. He has not yet, however, presented his credentials.

Iraq

General Khalid Al Zahawi, minister.

*Presented his credentials on 4th February, 1943. Served with the Iraqi army and has received training at the Staff College at Camberley, where he enjoyed himself thoroughly and where he seems to have been well treated. Before being posted to Kabul he was Director-General of Irrigation in his own country. (Written in 1944.)

Friendly but rather colourless. Went on leave in 1945 but failed to secure the transfer for which he hoped, as he finds life in Kabul intensely dull. Speaks French, English, Persian and Turkish fluently. His Turkish wife who was in Kabul from 1943-44 and afterwards went to her home in Istanbul and then for over a year in America to stay with her son, a recently qualified doctor in New York, has now returned to Kabul. She makes no secret of her boredom here as compared with the lively time she had in America. (Written in 1948.)

General and Mme. Zahawi have been on the point of leaving Kabul throughout the past year. It now really seems that they may in fact leave soon. His successor has not yet been appointed.

Italy

Signor Alberto Calisse, minister.

*Arrived in Kabul on 11th March, 1947, and presented his credentials on 26th March, 1947. Is a career diplomat with service in Algeria, Tunis and Port Said. Went into hiding in Rome in 1943 but was taken back into the diplomatic service after the arrival of the Allies and was subsequently consul-general in Istanbul. (Written in 1947.)

A cheerful individual, fond of sports and all social events; found the lack of social and day-to-day amenities in Afghanistan very trying at first but has now settled down and is tolerably happy. Speaks French well but only fair English. His wife is of a more phlegmatic temperament but pleasant. She speaks French, and a little English. (Written in 1948.)

Persia

M. Abdul Hussain Massoud Ansari, ambassador. Presented his credentials on 4th June, 1949. Aged about 50 and entered the Persian Foreign Ministry some 30 years ago. Has served in Paris, Berlin, London, Moscow, India and Scandinavia. He was Minister in Sweden from 1942-44 after which he was successively Governor of Gilan and Isfahan Provinces.

I do not yet know M. Ansari well, but he creates a good impression though he appears to be as insincere as most of his fellow countrymen. He speaks excellent French and fair English.

Saudi Arabia

Sheikh Fuad el Khatib, minister.

Presented his credentials on 26th August, 1948. Aged about 70. By birth a Lebanese and educated at the American University of Beirut. In 1915 joined King Hussein at Mecca and became Foreign Secretary. Later became secretary to Amir Abdullah of Transjordan. The reason for his appointment by Ibn Saud to be minister here remains a mystery.

Sheikh Fuad el Khatib is a lively and interesting conversationalist as well as author and poet. His only work here is in connexion with the Haj and he says that he spends his time writing.

His wife and daughter are with him in purdah—much to their disgust as they are used to the freedom of places such as Beirut. Sheikh Fuad's son, Riadh, is first secretary to the legation.

Soviet Union

M. Artemi Fedorovich Fedorov, ambassador. Presented his credentials on 8th January, 1949. Born 1901. Was formerly in the army and holds the rank of general. From 1926 to 1934 and 1939 to 1947 he was an instructor in military schools. From 1934 to 1939 he was assistant military attaché in Japan. In 1947 and 1948 he led the Russian delegation on the Four-Power Commission for the former Italian colonies, where his British colleagues found him congenial but not highly intelligent.

General Fedorov speaks a little English. He seems friendly but has been intermittently ill since he arrived here, and does not entertain or go out very much. His wife who looks ill and sad and speaks nothing but Russian hardly ever appears in public.

Transjordan

Mohammed Pasha El Shureiki, minister.

Presented his credentials on 5th February, 1948. Born about 1900. A Syrian by origin, Mohammed Pasha is a former Minister for Foreign Affairs and

now bears the title of Minister of State. On first appointment Mohammed Pasha also visited Karachi and New Delhi to deliver messages of goodwill to the Governments of the two new dominions from King Abdullah.

Mohammed Pasha is somewhat handicapped except in his intercourse with the representatives of Middle East countries by his rudimentary French and his consequent inability to carry on a conversation except in Arabic or Turkish. He is friendly but, of course, has nothing to do save to impress upon the Afghan Government the necessity for Moslem solidarity in connexion with the Palestine question (Written in 1948.)

Mohammed Pasha is also accredited to Pakistan and spends much time in Karachi.

Turkey

M. Ahmet Cevat Ustün, ambassador.

*Presented his credentials on 9th April, 1945. Was previously Turkish Minister in Bagdad, where he seems to have attracted attention chiefly by his nervousness about his own health and his defeatism in the early days of the war. He is a decided improvement on his predecessor and first impressions are of a shrewd and cultured little man who is anxious to be friendly, though, of course, he finds Kabul backward and unhygienic. With so many Turkish women in Kabul unable to say a word except in their own language, it is a great relief to have an ambassador's wife who speaks English excellently and has considerable charm. They have two children in Kabul and appear to spend a good deal of their time over their education. (Written in 1945.)

My first impression of M. Ustün as a shrewd and friendly little man has been confirmed, though both he and his wife are preoccupied by the Russian menace and somewhat subdued as a result. (Written in 1948.)

The health of both M. and Mme. Ustün has not been good during the last year, but he has continued to be a most helpful colleague and has used his influence with the Afghan Government in the British interest on such questions as the Italian colonies and the Pathanistan propaganda campaign.

United States

Since the departure in November 1948, of Mr. Ely Palmer the American embassy has been successively in charge of Mr. T. Eliot Weil and Mr. Fred W. Jandrey.

The appointment of Mr. Louis Dreyfus to be ambassador has been announced but he is not expected to arrive until September. Mr. Jandrey arrived only a few weeks ago and I have not yet had time to get well acquainted with him.

Relations and co-operation between the two embassies continue excellent.

Non-Residents

Belgium

M. Marcel Goosse, chargé d'affaires.

Presented his credentials on 7th April, 1949. Resident in Karachi as chargé d'affaires to Pakistan.

Sweden

Rolf R:son Sohlman, minister.

Presented his credentials on 4th June, 1949. Resident in Moscow as ambassador to the Soviet Union.

F 10646/1061/97

No. 11

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE AFGHAN AMBASSADOR

Afghan-Pakistan Dispute over the Tribal Areas

Mr. Bevin to Sir G. Squire (Kabul)

(No. 48. Confidential) Foreign Office,
15th July, 1949.

Sardar Faiz Mohammed Khan, the Afghan Ambassador, called again, at his request, to-day to restate the views of his Government about the tribal areas.

2. His arguments were, for the most part, repetitions of those he advanced on 29th June, which I summarised to you in my telegram No. 204 of 30th June and in my despatch No. 43 of 1st July. But from the second interview, which was even lengthier than the first, at least a clearer picture emerges of what the Afghan case is. In brief, it appears to be that in the treaties, agreements, and correspondence between the British and Afghan authorities, from 1893 to 1921, the "independence" of the tribal areas lying on the Indian side of the Durand Line was recognised by both parties; and that the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan have created a new situation in which the old agreements, and in particular the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921, are no longer applicable.

3. The Ambassador began his statement by saying that he had received my Note of 1st July (the second enclosure to my despatch No. 43) and that his Government could not accept the basis for negotiations with Pakistan which I had proposed. (On this I reminded him that I had not proposed a basis for negotiations, but had merely given the views of His Majesty's Government.) The Durand Line, he went on, was not an international boundary between Afghanistan and former British territory. It was the boundary between Afghanistan and independent tribal areas. There had been no provision in the 1921 Treaty that the region between the Durand Line and the administered areas was British. Lord Lansdowne had referred in writing to the independence of the tribal areas, which had been accepted by Afghanistan, though they had been taken by force from her. But now Pakistan had been created and was recognised by everyone as independent and sovereign.

Under international law, if an international person had been extinguished, then the rights and obligations of that person were also extinguished, though no general rule could be laid down and cases must be discussed singly. In this case, Afghanistan would never recognise Pakistan as the British successor in the tribal areas. It could be so recognised in the settled areas: but the boundaries of the settled areas had never been defined.

4. The only basis for talks with Pakistan must therefore be the acceptance by Pakistan of the independence of the tribal areas lying between the Durand Line and the administered areas. Mr. Jinnah himself had spoken of the "independence" of the tribal areas, and no difficulties had arisen until his successor, Mr. Nazimuddin, had claimed them as an integral part of Pakistan. It was Afghan policy to co-operate with Pakistan respecting the independence of these areas, and in helping them financially, for they were backward and poor—this was not the fault of the old Government of India, or of Afghanistan, but resulted, as in Arabia, from the nature of the country.

5. I took first the point he had made that in the treaties Britain had recognised tribal independence. I read to him extracts from the Treaty between the British and Afghan Governments, signed on 22nd November, 1921, and the fourth Appendix to that Treaty. I repeated what I had told him before, namely, that in my view Pakistan had in international law inherited all the rights and obligations of the former Government of India, and of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, in the tribal areas up to the Durand Line, which was the international boundary. I said that, whatever our rights in both the administered and unadministered areas, Pakistan in our view had succeeded to them, to no more, but to no less. The questions I wished to put to him and to his Government were, therefore: did they accept the 1921 Treaty, and did they recognise the status of Pakistan as our successor?

6. The Ambassador replied that Afghanistan did not accept the succession of Pakistan to our rights under that Treaty. Pakistan was a new international entity, and the tribal area question must be considered to be reopened afresh. Britain had the power and the right to give back to India and to Pakistan what she had originally taken from them, but could not give them what she had taken from someone else, namely Afghanistan.

7. I reminded him that he had agreed that the Durand Line was the frontier of Afghanistan (and he reaffirmed once again the correctness of this statement): by what right did Afghanistan seek to interfere beyond its frontier? He protested that what happened to the tribesmen was of great concern to their Afghan kinsmen, and I repeated that my advice was to discuss differences direct with Pakistan.

8. He then discussed the 1921 Treaty. We agreed that under its terms the Treaty could be denounced by either side at a year's notice. The Ambassador said that Afghanistan wished to make a new treaty with Pakistan, in which Afghanistan would not accept anything less than the independence of the tribes, though Afghanistan would not object to Pakistan enjoying concessions in the area by agreement with the tribes. Pakistan could establish military posts and build roads; but the region must remain "independent." Pakistan and Afghanistan were two brothers—the tribes were the third brother. That was the sort of relationship Afghanistan desired, not the relationship of governor and governed.

9. I told the Ambassador that I had talked to the Pakistan authorities about relations with his country. They had assured me that they wished to be friends and brothers to the Afghans. Britain also was a friend of Afghanistan. But we had acted within our rights in making Pakistan our successor. If Afghanistan was now asking us to undo what we had done, then my answer was that we would not go back on our word. But if Afghanistan accepted Pakistan as our successor, then

the correct course for Afghanistan was to negotiate direct with Pakistan.

10. The Ambassador then announced that his Foreign Minister was not now coming to London, and that he, the Ambassador, had been summoned back to Afghanistan for "a big meeting," and I replied that I hoped he would counsel moderation and peaceful discussions with Pakistan. Even if Afghanistan decided to denounce the 1921 Treaty, there was no need to quarrel about it. But I hoped that his Government would consider most carefully before deciding to denounce a treaty which was conferring benefits on Afghanistan.

11. The Ambassador said that he had tried before to negotiate with the Pakistan Foreign Minister, but had failed. Pakistan would not accept a conference. All that Afghanistan wanted, as a basis for talks, was Pakistan's confirmation of Mr. Jinnah's statement that the tribal areas were independent. Pakistan having refused to discuss, nothing remained but to denounce the Treaty and to look for friends wherever they could be found, even perhaps by turning to Russia.

12. I said that I was sorry he had spoken of resorting to such tactics. Afghanistan was in exactly the same position as she had been before the establishment of Pakistan, and tribal issues could be discussed with Pakistan just as they used to be discussed with the Government of India. There was absolutely no need to talk of war; issues between Afghanistan and Pakistan could and should be settled peacefully.

13. I promised the Ambassador that in order to prevent any misunderstanding of the British position I would tell the Government of Pakistan what he had said. I would not and could not shift, however, from what I had told him: Pakistan had succeeded to the British rights in the area, and difficulties that arose were matters for discussion between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN AFGHANISTAN

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 19th July)

(No. 86. Confidential)

Kabul,

9th July, 1949.

Sir,
With reference to my despatch No. 113 of 6th August, 1948, I have the honour to transmit herewith records of leading personalities in Afghanistan amended up to July, 1949.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

Enclosure in No. 12

Records of Leading Personalities in Afghanistan

(References where preceded by W.W. relate to "Who's Who in Afghanistan, 1936," issued by the General Staff in India and where preceded by L.P. relate to List of Leading Personalities.)

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2. Abdul Abad Khan.
3. Abdul Aziz Khan.
4. Abdul Ghani Khan.
5. Abdul Hadi Khan.
6. Abdul Hakim Khan.
7. Abdul Hamid Khan Aziz.
8. Abdul Haye Khan Aziz.
9. Abdul Hussain Khan Aziz.
10. Abdulla Khan.
11. Abdul Majid Khan.
12. Abdul Majid Khan.
13. Abdul Tawab Khan.
14. Abdul Wahab Khan.
15. Abdur Rahim Khan.
16. Abdur Rahman Khan.
17. Abdur Rahman Khan Mahmudi.
18. Abdus Samad Khan.
47. Agha Sami, Muhammad.
19. Ahmad Ali Jan.
20. Ahmad Shah Khan.
48. Akbar Khan, Muhammad.
49. Akram Khan, Muhammad.
21. Ali Muhammad Khan Mirza.
22. Ali Shah Khan.
23. Allah Nawaz.
24. Amanullah Khan.
50. Amin Jan.
51. Amin Khan, Muhammad.
51. Aminullah Jan, Muhammad.
25. Amir Uddin Khan.
53. Arif Khan, Muhammad.
26. Asadullah Khan.
27. Ata Muhammad Khan.
54. Atiq Khan, Muhammad.
28. Ata-ul-Haq Khan.
55. Daud Khan, H.H. Muhammad.
29. Faiz Muhammad Khan.
30. Fazl Ahmad Khan.

31. Fazal-i-Umar.
32. Ghaus-ud-Din Khan.
33. Ghulam Ahmad Khan.
34. Ghulam Faruq Khan.
35. Ghulam Muhammad Khan.
36. Ghulam Muhammad Khan.
37. Ghulam Muhammad Khan.
38. Ghulam Rasul Khan.
39. Ghulam Siddiq Khan.
40. Ghulam Yahya Khan.
85. Gul Agha.
56. Gul Khan, Muhammad.
41. Gul Ahmad Khan.
42. Habibullah Khan Tarzi.
57. Haider Khan, Muhammad.
58. Hashim Khan, Muhammad.
59. Hassan Jan, Muhammad.
31. Hazrat of Shor Bazar.
60. Ismail Khan, Muhammad.
43. Jalaladin Khan Tarzi.
44. Juma Khan Saddiqi.
61. Kabir Khan Ludin, Muhammad.
62. Karim Khan, Muhammad.
61. Ludin (Muhammad Kabir Khan).
45. Mahmud Jan.
46. Mohendra Pratap Singh.
47. Muhammad Agha Sami.
48. Muhammad Akbar Khan.
49. Muhammad Akram Khan.
50. Muhammad Amin Khan.
51. Muhammad Aminullah Jan.
52. Muhammad Anwar Khan.
53. Mohammed Arif Khan.
54. Muhammad Atiq Khan.
55. H.H. Muhammad Daud Khan.
56. Muhammad Gul Khan.
57. Muhammad Haider Khan.
58. H.R.H. Muhammad Hashim Khan.
59. Muhammad Hassan Jan.
60. Muhammad Ismail Khan.
61. Muhammad Kabir Khan Ludin.
62. Sardar Mohammed Karim Khan.
63. Muhammad Khan, Mirza.
64. H.H. Muhammad Naim Khan.
65. Muhammad Nauroz Khan.
66. Muhammad Qasim Khan.
67. Muhammad Qasim Khan.
68. Muhammad Sadiq Khan.
69. Muhammad Sarwar Khan.
70. Muhammad Shafi Khan.
71. Muhammad Shuaib Khan.
72. Muhammad Umar Khan.
73. Muhammad Usman Khan.
74. Mohammed Yunus Khan, Mohammedzai.
75. Muhammad Yunus Khan.
1. H.M. King Muhammad Zahir Shah.
64. Naim Khan, H.H. Muhammad.
76. Najibullah Khan.
65. Nauroz Khan, Muhammad.
77. Obeidullah Khan.
66. Qasim Khan, Muhammad.
67. Qasim Khan, Muhammad.
78. Rahimullah Khan.
79. Rahmatullah Jan.
80. Rishiya, Saiyid Qasim Khan.
68. Sadiq Khan, Muhammad.
81. Saiyid Qasim.

82. Salah-ud-Din Khan (Saljuki).
69. Sarwar Khan, Muhammad.
70. Shafi Khan, Muhammad.
77. Shah Agha.
83. H.R.H. Shah Mahmud.
84. H.R.H. Shah Wali Khan.
31. Sher Agha.
71. Shuaib Khan, Muhammad.
85. Siddiq Agha Muhammad.
86. Sultan Ahmad Khan.
87. Tura Baz Khan Sati of Chardel.
88. Ulya Hazrat.
72. Umar Khan, Muhammad.
73. Usman Khan, Muhammad.
89. Yakub Khan.
75. Yunus Khan, Muhammad.
1. Zahir Shah, H.M. King.
90. Zulfikar Khan, Muhammad.

1. H.M. King Muhammad Zahir Shah (W.W. 688A).

Muhammadzai. Only surviving son of the late King Nadir Shah. Born 1914. Accompanied his father to France in 1924 and was educated in that country. Returned to Afghanistan in October 1930. In 1931 attended a year's course at the Infantry Officers' School, Kabul. Married (1931) a daughter of Ahmad Shah (L.P. 20). Appointed Assistant War Minister 1932. In September 1933 officiated as Education Minister in addition to his other duties. Was proclaimed King on the 8th November, 1933, immediately after his father's assassination. Quiet and unassuming with pleasant manners and a fair presence, he has so far had little share in the government of the country, the real power being wielded by his uncle. He is keen on shooting, tennis, riding and swimming. Up to 1938 he rarely left Kabul. Since 1938 he has made a few excursions into the country for a day or two, but is usually accompanied by a large number of officials. He spends two or three months each year at Paghman, the summer capital, to which the Government does not move. His birthday is celebrated about the 15th October each year. Has had five sons, Muhammad Akbar, born 1933, died 1942; Ahmad Shah, born 1934; Muhammad Nadir, born 1941; Shah Mahmud, born 1946; Daud, born 1949; and two daughters born in 1932 and 1936. He is taking an increased interest in affairs, including the development of the army and air force, and has been known to express a desire to take a more active part in the direction of State business. In the autumn of 1948 His Majesty made an extensive tour of Badakshan in the north which was reported to have been successful. His Majesty has not, however, come forward as much as was expected during the past year. This may partly have been due to ill-health for he has suffered not only from a recurrence of an old knee injury but also from serious dental trouble which has affected his right eye. In May 1949 it was even contemplated that he should go abroad for medical treatment for his eye, but it was decided that this would be unwise for political reasons and a specialist was flown from England to examine him.

2. Abdul Ahad (W.W. 5)

Son of Abdul Ahad Khan of Ghazni and brother of L.P. 41. Born 1902 in Kabul. Tajik. He owns property in Kabul and Ghazni. An infantry officer. Was sent to Turkey about 1925 for military training and studied in Military Academy, Istanbul. Returned to Afghanistan via Herat early in 1929; reached Kandahar just after Amanullah fled to India. Returned to Herat. Later joined late King Nadir

Khan in Southern Province and took part in fighting there. Appointed Officer Commanding, Arq, after Nadir's succession. Appointed General Officer Commanding, Kandahar, in 1930. Was more than once congratulated by the King on his good work as General Officer Commanding, Kandahar. Attended manoeuvres in Delhi, January 1935. After his return held frequent field parades of Kandahar garrison and started seriously to learn English, of which he spoke little. Appointed General Officer Commanding, Herat, in June 1935. In 1936 he visited Musabad on the Persian frontier to select a site for a post in area given to Afghanistan by the Boundary Commission. Appointed commander in Farah Province during Helmand water dispute. Sister married to W.W. 553 in 1936. Royal appreciation presumably in connexion with services in Helmand water dispute. Reported that he exercised more influence than the Governor of Herat. In absence of the Governor of Herat, he and Mohammad Ali Khan officiated as Governors jointly. He opened a school in Robat-i-Ghurian where officers learn English. Formed a local intelligence corps in Ghurian. Transferred from command of Herat forces, appointed Governor of Ghazni 1937, to deal with Ghilzai disturbances. Accused Indian Government of intrigue with the Ghilzais. Warned Sulaiman Khel against Faqir of Ipi, whom he called "a British agent" working against Afghan interests. Visited Turkey in 1942 ostensibly for medical treatment but actually to act as military observer for the Afghan Government on the progress of the world war. Returned in 1943. Commandant of an infantry division in the Kabul Army Corps 1944. Visited Bombay in 1945 for medical treatment. Appointed Adjutant-General 1946 and Governor of the Eastern Province 1948.

He is an intelligent little man with a great sense of humour. He is an enlightened conversationalist but not communicative on military matters though he is reputed to be a keen student of his profession and a capable commander. Popular and loyal he was impressed by his visit to Indian manoeuvres in 1935. Speaks Turkish well.

3. Abdul Aziz Khan (W.W. 13)

Son of the late Ghulam Haidar Charki. Born 1891. Brother of Ghulam Siddiq (L.P. 39). Was a lieutenant-colonel (Kandak Mishar) of artillery. Was on the Asmar front in 1919. Commanding Arandu October 1919. Promoted Ghund Mishar (brigadier) and proceeded to Mazar-i-Sharif June 1920. General Officer Commanding, Kunar Valley, 1922. Hakim (Governor) of Laghman 1923-24. Under-Secretary to the Minister of the Interior 1926. Officiated as Home Minister 1927. Governor of Mazar November 1928. Wounded and imprisoned in Mazar-i-Sharif by Saqavis February 1929. Sent to Kabul March 1929 but escaped. Arrived Quetta and left for Meshed July 1929. Returned to Kabul, via India, April 1930. Left Kabul by air on the 20th July, 1930, to visit his brother Ghulam Nabi (deceased) in Angora. Accompanied ex-King Amanullah to Mecca in 1931. One of the Amanullah party in Europe. Lived some time in Constantinople at No. 110, Grande Rue de Sisti, but left for Berlin when Amanullah was in Mecca in 1935. Deprived of Afghan nationality in November 1933. In September 1935 was at Constantinople, but was expelled from Turkey that month and left for Germany.

4. Abdul Ghani Khan (W.W. 35)

Held minor posts under Amanullah by whom he was dismissed. Assisted Nadir Shah and re-employed by the Government as Officer Commanding the Arq in 1933. Subsequently, temporary

Commander of the Southern Province and then Commander of the 1st Kabul Division in 1935. General Officer Commanding-in-chief, Kabul Army Corps and Sardar-i-Ali 1946. Lieutenant-general, Chief of the General Staff 1948. Left for Europe in May 1949 for medical treatment. Speaks a little English and French.

5. Abdul Hadi Khan Dawi (W.W. 38)

Dawi Kakar of Kandahar. Son of Abdul Ahad, a Hakim (Governor) of Kandahar. Member of the Afghan Peace Delegation June 1919. Formerly editor of the *Aman-i-Afghan*. Assistant to the Foreign Minister as Mustashar (counsellor) in charge of Indian Affairs. Member of the Afghan delegation, Mussoorie Conference 1920. Arrived Kushk November 1920 with a mission to enquire into the position of the Afghan Consul. Appointed Afghan representative at Bokhara. Returned to Kabul July 1921 and resumed his duties in the Foreign Office. Appointed Minister in London January 1922. Relieved August 1924. On return was appointed Minister of Commerce. Was suspected of "Republican" intrigues during Amanullah's absence in Europe 1928. Went to Russia for three months in 1928 in connexion with Russo-Afghan trade. Retired from Ministry of Commerce in October 1928 to become a candidate for the National Assembly. Joined Amanullah in Kandahar and fled with him to India May 1929. Resided in Karachi and returned to Kabul in November 1929. Appointed Afghan Minister in Berlin December 1929. Resigned in March 1931, as he considered the attitude of the Afghan Government was too friendly to His Majesty's Government. Went to Mecca in 1931. Reported to have met ex-King Amanullah in Venice March 1932. In May 1932 returned to Kabul after performing pilgrimage to Mecca. Was closely watched by Afghan Government, who doubted his loyalty. In 1933 (December) was arrested and imprisoned on suspicion of pro-Amanullah activities. Has the reputation of being an ardent Nationalist and particularly anti-British, but financially honest. Has also been reported to be pro-Russian. Released from prison (1947) after Shah Mahmud (No. 83) came to power, and appointed chief private secretary to the King (July 1948). Relieved of this post on his election in May 1949 to 7th National Council, of which he became president.

6. Abdul Hakim Khan (W.W. 43)

Was a junior Under-Secretary at the Afghan Foreign Office; transferred as a junior Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Education in 1923. Appointed Secretary to Afghan Legation in Rome, February 1927. Appointed Second Secretary, Afghan Legation, Berlin, May 1931. Assistant Secretary in western branch of Afghan Foreign Office in 1934 and 1935. Was Rais of the Afghan representatives at Joint Commission at Chaman in April/July 1936. Governor of Eastern Province in September 1939.

1943-46 Director of Agriculture. February 1946 appointed Governor of Kataghan Province in place of Ghulam Faruq Khan. Is intelligent and reported honest. Does not belong to any important family.

7. Abdul Hamid Khan Aziz (W.W. 45)

Muhammazai. Born about 1898. Son of the late Abdul Aziz Khan. Brother of Abdul Husain Khan (No. 9). Educated in France. In Tehran in 1929 with his father, with whom he returned to Kabul in December 1929. Secretary to the Afghan Legation in Rome, February 1931-34. First Secretary, Afghan Embassy, Moscow, 1934. In the Protocol Branch of the Foreign Ministry in 1936. Chef du Protocol in 1937. Secretary of the Ministry for

Foreign Affairs in 1937. Appointed Afghan Representative in Geneva 1939. Returned to Kabul in November 1939 and re-appointed Secretary in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1940. Until recently was distrusted by the Royal Family but now appears to have been restored to favour. Afghan representative to the United Nations 1948. Superficial, unstable and of no particular ability.

8. Abdul Haye Khan Aziz

Son of Abdul Husain Khan Aziz (No. 9). Was director of Afghan National Bank. Appointed First Secretary, Ministry of National Economy, 1946. Member of Afghan delegation to Havana Conference in 1947. Proceeded to the United States at the end of 1948 for about seven months. His visit is believed to have been connected with Afghan efforts to procure an American loan and also to study the organisation of statistical offices in the United States.

9. Abdul Husain Khan Aziz (W.W. 47)

Son of the late Abdul Aziz. Born about 1896 and educated in Persia. Accompanied his father to Tehran in 1920. Was Under-Secretary in Charge of Reception and Visa Branch of Afghan Foreign Office January 1924. Dismissed in August 1925, partly for taking heavy commission on goods purchased in India for Afghan Government. Director of Afghan Transport Company, Kabul, 1926. Appointed Consul-General, Delhi. In business in Karachi 1929. Returned to Kabul November 1929. Appointed Afghan Minister in Rome and presented credentials the 17th May, 1930. Afghan delegate to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva 1931-32. Attended Disarmament Conference, Geneva, during 1933, and seemed very friendly with Litvinov.

Transferred as Ambassador to Moscow during 1933. Brought the body of the late Sardar Muhammad Aziz Khan to Kabul in June 1933 and returned to Moscow in December.

Visited Kabul September 1935, then returned to Moscow.

Returned to Kabul July 1938. Appointed Minister of Public Works, October 1938. Appointed Minister of Posts and Telegraphs 1940. Suspected of intrigues with enemy 1942-43. Left for Washington in April 1943 to take up newly created post of Afghan Minister there. It is believed that he was selected for the appointment in order to get him out of Kabul. Not trusted by the Yayha Khel dynasty, and believed to be anti-British in his political sympathies. Said to have pro-Amanullah leanings. Speaks quite good English and has many friends in India where he spent some time during the 1914-18 war. Appointed ambassador to India, May 1948, but did not proceed owing to ill-health. Visited the United States for treatment and on his return appointed Minister of Education in May 1949. A man of considerable ability but suffers from ill-health.

10. Abdulla Khan

Tajik. Son of Ahmad Khan of Ghazni and brother of Gul Ahmad Khan Tajik (L.P. 37) and Abdul Ahad (L.P. 2). He was formerly an official in the Government Purchasing Department, and afterwards their agent in Berlin in 1938-39. Appointed as Third Secretary (Muin) in the Ministry of National Economy in 1940. Appointed officiating Governor of Herat in 1941. Became unpopular in Herat owing to food shortage and subsequent riot resulting in the murder of two Afghan officials.

During the war (1939-45) was thought to be pro-German and to have made a fortune smuggling goods to Russia and Iran. A favourite of ex-Prime Minister (L.P. 52), he is regarded as one of the most

energetic junior men. Appointed Minister of Communications, May 1948.

11. Abdul Majid Khan, alias Abdul Majidoff or Hakimoff (W.W. 73)

Tarak of Herat. Born about 1902. Son of Abdul Hakim. A man of no important family. Was at one time an official in the customs office in Herat, from where in 1920 he went to Moscow and was at one time attached to the Afghan Embassy there. Started business in Moscow, and made a considerable amount of money by exporting and importing contraband goods with the connivance of the customs officials. In about 1930 he settled in Berlin. Was recalled to Kabul in 1933 by the Afghan Government to organise and manage the Ashami Company. Prior to proceeding to Berlin he is believed to have had a considerable amount of his property confiscated by the Soviet Government.

In spring 1935 carried out an extensive business tour in Northern Afghanistan.

In January 1936 managing director of the Afghan National Bank and Ashami Company. In 1936 went to Europe to arrange for trade credits and contacts. Attended Nazi Congress meeting in Nuremberg in 1937.

Returned to Kabul, March 1938. Appointed Minister of Trade, September 1938. Proceeded to Delhi December 1938 for trade discussions with the Government of India. Appointment changed to Minister for National Economy, April 1939. Left Kabul January 1941 for United States but changed plans at Karachi and went to Germany for medical treatment. Ill and in Switzerland 1943. Returned to Afghanistan in 1946. Again ill and left for United States for treatment July 1948. Has not yet returned though his illness is said not to have been so serious as at first supposed. Has been engaged in negotiations for an American loan and in the purchase of machinery.

Is a tactful and capable business man, the most important in the country. Although he is said by some to be pro-Russian he is primarily an ardent Nationalist. He was largely responsible for the introduction of the monopoly system and the formation of various trading companies. After his return from abroad in 1946 he set to work energetically to reorganise the economic structure of the country, reversing his previous policy of monopolies in favour of freer trade.

Speaks Russian and German and has a wife and four children in New York.

12. Abdul Majid Khan

Born in Kabul 1910. Educated at the Habibia College and in 1933 sent to America by the Afghan Government, where he received (1941) a doctorate in bacteriology and sanitation from the University of California. On his return appointed doctor of bacteriology in the Bacteriological Institute and at the same time professor in the Medical School in Kabul. A member of the Board of Education in 1943, when he was professor of bacteriology and physiology in the Faculty of Science. In 1945 appointed to organise the Afghan University, of which he became acting rector. In 1946 he led the Afghan delegation to the Asiatic Conference in Delhi.

In 1948 appointed Acting Minister of Health, with a place in the Cabinet.

A quiet and insignificant man chosen for his loyalty to the present régime rather than for any particular ability.

13. Abdul Tawab Khan (W.W. 124)

Muhammadzai. Son of late Mahmud Tarzi. Born 1902. Went to Europe for education October 1921. Admitted Saint-Cyr early in 1924 and completed a course of nearly three years' duration there. Spent

one year with a French cavalry regiment. Head of Cavalry School, Kabul, 1928. Accompanied King Amanullah to Europe 1928. Escaped from Kabul to Peshawar with Inayatullah (W.W. 366) by British aeroplane January 1929 and went to Europe. Married (1931) in Istanbul Zakiri Khanum, daughter of a retired Turkish naval captain. Still (1946) in Europe and a member of Amanullah's party. Speaks French fluently and is a smart-mannered man, of whom more may be heard in the future. Deprived of Afghan nationality in November 1933.

14. Abdul Wahab Khan (W.W. 126)

Muhammadzai. Son of the late Mahmud Tarzi. Born about 1900. Accompanied his father to the Afghan Mussoorie Conference 1920. Left Kabul for London with despatches August 1921. Educated at Exeter College, Oxford. On return to Kabul was appointed to a branch of the Foreign Office. Went to Kandahar at the time of Amanullah's abdication and acted as Foreign Minister there. Accompanied Amanullah on his flight to India and left India with him. Has since lived in Europe. In Rome September 1934 and in close attendance on the ex-King. Deprived of Afghan nationality in November 1933. In October 1935 was living in Istanbul. In Rome December 1936.

15. Abdur Rahim Khan (W.W. 89)

Naib Salar (general). Safi of Reza, Kohistan. Son of Abdul Qadir Khan. Born about 1886 in Kohistan. Brother-in-law of Muhammad Hussain, accountant under Ameer Habibullah Khan, who was executed by King Amanullah Khan.

Appointed to Sar-i-Os (commander of the Royal bodyguard) by Ameer Habibullah at age of 16. Served for five years in Kabul. Afterwards was for ten years supervisor of bridge construction in the Eastern Province. Promoted Ghund Mishar (brigadier) (1921) and posted to the Cavalry Kandak of the Herat army. Recalled to Kabul about 1927. Later transferred to Mazar-i-Sharif as Ghund Mishar of the Cavalry Ghund. On outbreak of the 1928 revolution returned to Kabul and joined Bacha-i-Saqao in Charikar during the latter's second attempt to capture Kabul January 1929. Sent by Bach-i-Saqao to Mazar-i-Sharif to organise a revolution. He deposed the Governor and left for Maimana, and thence for Herat, which he reached on the 4th May, 1929, after defeating some Herati forces under Muhammad Ghaus (W.W. 202). In May appointed Civil and Military Governor by Bacha-i-Saqao and reappointed later by Nadir Shah October 1929. After the success of Shah Mahmud in the spring of 1931 in Kataghan and Badakhshan, he decided to submit to Nadir Shah. In August 1932 visited Kabul, and in September was confirmed in appointment of Naib-ul-Hukmah (Governor), Herat.

Dealt firmly with an attempt to incite the Herat garrison to mutiny in 1933. Met the Prime Minister at Maimana at time of Nadir Shah's assassination and gave his allegiance to King Zahir Shah. Appointed head of Perso-Afghan Boundary Commission September 1934.

Arrived in Kabul in June 1935 and appointed Minister of Public Works.

Appointed Assistant to the Prime Minister with status of a Cabinet Minister (1938). Arrested on the 31st January, 1946, by ex-Prime Minister (L.P. 58) together with his son-in-law Khalil-Ullah Khan, a Mudir in the Prime Ministry, for suspected complicity in the Safi disturbances of 1945. Released 1948, though still under surveillance.

Although he is a man of great personality who governed his province well he has always been suspect by the present régime of some form of disloyalty though the rumours about him have

varied from time to time, that he was pro-Amanullah, pro-Russian, pro-Republican, pro-Axis, separatist, &c.

16. Abdur Rahman Khan

Appointed Afghan Minister at Bagdad early in January 1941, and was on his way to Bagdad when he was recalled from Karachi owing to outspoken criticism of commercial policy of Abdul Majid Khan, Minister of National Economy, in which he had indulged just before his departure. Later reported to Bagdad and presented his credentials to the Regent of Iraq on the 21st October, 1941. Escorted the remains of Sayed Jamaluddin to Kabul in December 1944. Recalled April 1948 and replaced by Ghulam Yahya. Appointed Director-General of Political Sections of Ministry for Foreign Affairs in September 1948. A stolid but apparently friendly man.

17. Abdur Rahman Khan Mahmudi

Born in 1907 in Kabul. Completed his medical courses in 1937 at the Kabul Medical Faculty of which he became a member. Specialist in mental and nervous diseases. In 1948 was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for criticising the Government regarding the method of election to municipal councils. Shortly afterwards was released on the intervention of Abdul Majid to whom he was appointed medical adviser. Acting Chief of the Public Health Department and member of the 7th National Council 1949.

18. Abdus Samad Khan (W.W. 118)

Tajik. Secretary of Afghan Legation in London; returned to Kabul May 1925, visiting Mecca en route, and appointed a junior Under-Secretary in the Afghan Foreign Office. His post was abolished, owing to economies of budget of April 1926, and he was thrown out of employment. Appointed a member of Afghan deputation to Ibn Saud's All-Muslim Conference, May 1926. Appointed First Secretary to Afghan Legation, Paris, October 1926, and left in that month for Paris. Appointed to the Foreign Office as Assistant Secretary, November 1928; transferred to the Protocol Branch, Foreign Office, Kabul, February 1931. Appointed Minister at Rome, and left to take up appointment in February 1936. Represented King Zahir Shah at coronation in London, 1937. Relieved by Muhammad Akram Khan. Appointed Director-General of Political Section in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1946 and Permanent Under-Secretary in 1948.

An intelligent man possessing good manners. Speaks English, and appears to be well disposed to us.

19. Ahmad Ali Jan (or Khan) (W.W. 140)

Sardar, Muhammadzai. Born 1899. Son of Suleiman Khan and cousin of the late King Nadir Shah. Brother of Ali Shah Khan. Appointed A.D.C. to King Amanullah 1923, but incurred his displeasure by marrying, without his approval, a daughter of Prince Musa Khan (W.W. 461A). Governor of Jalalabad in 1923-24. Imprisoned by Bacha-i-Saqao in April 1929, but was released in October. Appointed Minister in Paris, November 1929, and transferred to London, June 1931. Represented Afghanistan at the Economic Conference, London, 1933. Relieved in July 1933 and appointed Minister of Education. 1937, appointed Ambassador at Teheran. 1939, transferred to London as Minister. Returned to Kabul 1946 on relief by Muhammad Naim Khan.

Is a pleasant man, a keen sportsman, but not very capable. Seems lazy. Is pro-British and very

friendly to members of the British Legation, Kabul. His wife was educated in England and speaks and writes English perfectly. He himself speaks English, French and Urdu. His eldest son, Abdul Ali, born about 1926, is studying at London University. His wife and youngest son Muhammad Ali (born about 1936) are in Kabul. Appointed Minister of Health, and in July 1948 Minister of State and civil aide-de-camp to King Zahir Shah.

20. Ahmad Shah Khan (W.W. 149)

Sardar, Muhammadzai. Son of Sardar Muhammad Asaf Khan. Born at Delira Dun 1880. Returned to Afghanistan 1901. Accompanied Ameer Habibullah Khan to India in 1907. On the night of the murder of Ameer Habibullah Khan (1919) was in command of the guard. The sepoy of the Ghundi-Ardalian (an infantry unit), whose colonel, Ali Shah Reza, was executed as the actual murderer, believed that Ahmad Shah Khan was the real murderer and that their colonel had been made a scapegoat. It is stated, however, on excellent authority that the actual murderer was not Ahmad Shah Khan. Married a sister of the late Shaghassi Ali Ahmad Khan, one time Wali of Kabul. Was an A.D.C. of ex-King Amanullah. Went to Europe via India in 1929 with a message from Bacha-i-Saqao to Nadir Khan. Returned to Kabul early 1930. Appointed Wazir-i-Durbar (Minister of Court) April 1930. In March 1932 went on pilgrimage to Mecca as representative of the King and negotiated a "Treaty of Friendship" with Saudi Arabia. Visited India in the spring of 1933 for medical treatment, where he married a second wife. His eldest daughter was married to King Zahir Shah in November 1931.

His four sisters were married to—

- (a) Late King Nadir Shah.
- (b) Late Muhammad Aziz Khan, brother of (a).
- (c) N. S. Abdul Ghani Khan (W.W. 34).
- (d) Muhammad Akbar Khan.

Went to Tehran for the wedding celebrations of the Crown Prince of Iran (1939). Still Wazir-i-Durbar.

Fond of shooting, fishing and gardening, but suffers from a heart complaint and not therefore very active. Does not take any active interest in politics. Speaks Urdu and a little English and is a pleasant, friendly and easy going man.

21. Ali Muhammad Khan Mirza (W.W. 179)

Born about 1894. A brother-in-law of the Ameer Habibullah. Travelled in Europe, and on return (1923) was appointed as assistant in the Ministry of Education. In 1925 promoted Under-Secretary, Ministry of Education. Appointed Minister at Rome, February 1927. Was with Amanullah in London March 1928. Minister of Commerce November 1928. A member of Bacha-i-Saqao's "Council for the Maintenance of Order" February 1929. Appointed Minister of Education November 1929. In June 1933 was appointed Afghan representative at the Economic Conference, London, and in July was appointed Afghan Minister, London. Appointed Minister in Switzerland and representative of Afghanistan to the League of Nations February 1935. Selected to represent Afghanistan at the Fourth International Hospital Conference in Rome in May 1935. Summoned to Kabul July 1935, and arrived there the same month via Moscow and Termez. Returned to London via India in October. Represented King Zahir Shah at funeral of King George V in London January 1936.

Returned to Kabul (1938) and appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Visited Tehran (1939) for the wedding celebrations of the Crown Prince of Iran and to attend the meeting of the Council of the

Saadabad Pact. Is still Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sardar-i-Ala, 1946.

Speaks English well but no French; is a keen student of English literature and interested particularly in education. Enlightened, capable and genuinely friendly to Britain, but not a strong character and lacks energy. Not related to the ruling family, he has nevertheless latterly acquired considerable influence with the Government.

22. Ali Shah Khan (W.W. 180)

Mohammadzai. Born about 1900. Naib Salar, son of Mohammad Sulaiman Khan, first cousin of late King Nadir Shah. Son-in-law of S. Musa Khan (W.W. 461a) and brother of Ahmad Ali Khan. Was commandant of military schools and the military college from 1932 to 1939. Appointed Governor and General Officer Commanding, Kandahar, in 1939. In August 1941 he was transferred to the Southern Province as Governor (Rais-i-Tenzinia) and General Officer Commanding Southern Province army corps and promoted to the rank of Naib Salar (general). Relieved of his post in April 1944 and still unemployed in July 1948. Left for medical treatment in India in early 1946.

He is a pleasant, rather easy-going individual, but has not been very successful as an administrator.

23. Allah Nawaz (W.W. 182)

Indian of Multan. Son of Khan Bahadur Rab Nawaz Khan, honorary magistrate, Multan. As a student in Lahore ran away to Afghanistan. In Jalalabad (1920) was an assistant editor of the *Ittihad-i-Mashriqi*. A superintendent of schools, Jalalabad Circle. Was agent of the Indian Revolutionary party in Afghanistan and Tashkent and channel of communication between them and the Hindustani Fanatics. In 1927 was employed by the Deutsch-Afghanische Company as an interpreter. Helped Nadir Shah in his advance on Kabul 1929. Appointed Minister of Court October 1929, and equerry November 1929. Was appointed to supervise the work on Dar-ul-Aman May 1930. In July 1930 accompanied the Minister of Justice (W.W. 256) to Ghazni for negotiations with the Suleiman Khel. Left Kabul for Europe via India in April 1931, ostensibly for medical treatment, returning to Kabul in November 1931. In March 1932 again went to Europe for the same reason, and returned in January 1933. In June 1933 was appointed Minister of Public Works, but spent most of the year in the Southern Province in connexion with the disturbances there. Left Kabul on visit to Europe, ostensibly for medical treatment December 1933, but in reality, it is believed, to enquire about the trial of Said Kemal, the murderer of Sardar Muhammad Aziz, and to discuss affairs of State with Sardar Shah Wali Khan. Popular rumour in Kabul said he had been sent to assassinate ex-King Amanullah. Appointed Minister, Berlin, 1935, but was not at first accepted by the German Government owing to his being the representative at the trial of Said Kemal. Travelled to Kabul by German plane (August 1937). Returned to Germany with his family (October 1937).

Again visited Kabul (1938) and returned to Germany. Played an important part in the Government's efforts to quell the Suleiman Khel rising of 1938. Visited Kabul in 1940 via Russia. Remained as Minister at Berlin until the collapse of Germany.

Devoted to late King Nadir Shah, his life has been threatened by the Amanullah Party. Trusted by ex-Prime Minister (L.P. 58) who considered him very capable. Said to be anti-British. Now in Switzerland as guardian to the King's elder daughter, Princess Bilqis.

24. Amanullah Khan (W.W. 183)

Ex-King of Afghanistan, third son of the Ameer Habibullah Khan by the Ulya Hazrat. Born the 1st June, 1892. In 1914 married Souriya, daughter of the later Sardar Mahmud Tarzi. In 1916 was reported to be friendly with the German mission in Kabul and in favour of intervention in the war against Britain. When the Court moved to Jalalabad in the winter of 1918-19 he remained behind as Governor of Kabul, and was in a very strong position, with control of the arsenal, treasury and stores, when the Ameer was murdered in February 1919. He proclaimed himself Ameer, declared his uncle Nasrullah a usurper, and accused him of complicity in the murder. The troops in Jalalabad and Kabul sided with him and Nasrullah was compelled to submit. On the 27th February was formally crowned by the Tagao Mullah, and in a speech stated that Inayatullah (W.W. 366) had by his recognition of Nasrullah's usurpation forfeited his claim to the throne. On the 13th April held a special durbar in Kabul for the trial of those accused of the Ameer's murder, and at its conclusion a colonel, named Ali Shah Reza, generally regarded as a mere scapegoat, was sentenced to death and was executed. Sardar Nasrullah and others were sentenced to imprisonment for life. Amanullah soon found his position threatened by intrigue on behalf of Inayatullah and the restiveness of the army, who were not satisfied with the enquiry made into the murder of Habibullah. The army was therefore despatched to the Indian frontier, in order to divert its attention and to take advantage of the disturbances in India should these develop into open rebellion. The commander-in-chief apparently exceeded his instructions and precipitated hostilities, which resulted in the Third Afghan War. A variety of considerations led to the grant of lenient terms to Afghanistan, including the recognition of her complete independence. As a result Amanullah Khan was able to claim that he had won the freedom of his country by the sword, and, by the conclusion of treaties with a number of European countries, that he had brought about the recognition of Afghanistan on a basis of equality by the Great Powers. These tactics gains him considerable prestige, both in his country and throughout the East. This prestige tended to increase his natural vanity and render him impatient of advice. Through his wife he had been brought under "Young Turk" influence, and he proceeded to carry out a fantastically rapid programme of reform without regard for the backwardness and prejudice of his people, particularly the mullahs. He failed to profit by the warning sounded by several rebellions, the most serious of which was the Khost rising of 1924, and continued to spend his revenues on schemes for social or educational progress, whilst neglecting his army. These tendencies were exaggerated as a result of his European tour of 1927-28, and particularly, it is believed, as a result of his visit to Mustafa Kemal at Angora. In the autumn of 1928 the Shinwaris rose in revolt and were soon followed by other tribes. Bacha-i-Saqao, a brigand of low birth, attacked Kabul in December 1928 and again in January 1929. Amanullah announced his abdication in favour of Inayatullah on the 14th January and fled to Kandahar a day or two later. At Kandahar attempted to rally support for Durrani dynasty and formally rescinded his abdication. In April he advanced on Kabul, but owing to the hostility of the Ghilzais was repulsed near Ghazni and defeated at Mukur. Arrived at Chaman with his family on the 23rd May, and sailed from Bombay for Italy on the 22nd June, 1929. Visited Mustafa Kemal in Angora in February 1930, returning to Italy. Revisited Turkey again for three months in June. Left Constantinople hurriedly for Italy. Returned to Turkey in

September, but went back and spent the winter in Italy. Left Naples for Jeddah to perform pilgrimage on the 5th April, 1931, with the object of either rehabilitating himself in Moslem eyes, or concerting measures for the recovery of his throne. Published a letter decrying King Nadir and his régime. Left Jeddah for Suez, the 9th May, 1931. His Mecca party included Muhammad Adib (W.W. 137), brother of Souriya, Abdul Fateh Tarzi (W.W. 20a), the late Ghulam Nabi, Shuja-ud-Daulah (W.W. 612), and two officials of the Angora Embassy, Fazal Ahmad and Abdul Aziz. Returned to Italy, via Alexandria, the 21st May. Left Rome for Switzerland, the 20th June, 1931, stayed at Montreux. Visited Rome in July and returned to Switzerland. Visited Montecatini in September, and was back in Rome by the beginning of November. Left Rome on short visits to Naples in December 1931 and Venice in March 1932. At Venice reported to have met Afghan Minister from Berlin; more likely it was Abdul Hadi Khan. Said to have definite understandings with Soviet and Persia and to have many friends in Germany. Constant rumours of his whereabouts and intentions were circulated among the tribes on both sides of the border during 1932, culminating in one, which was put about during the Dare Khel revolt in November, to the effect that he was in Gardez. The ex-King was, however, in Italy or Switzerland throughout the year. He was reported to be writing his autobiography, and to be going to Russia when he had finished it to have it published by the Soviet. This has never materialised. In Europe he has constantly intrigued against the present Afghan régime with a view to regaining his throne. In July 1933 he visited Constantinople and held a meeting of his principal supporters there. Reported to have tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain Soviet support to his efforts. The execution of the late Ghulam Nabi, one of his chief adherents, intensified his hostility against the Yahya Khel. Members of his party were responsible for the assassinations of King Nadir Shah (Kabul 1933) and his brother Muhammad Aziz (Berlin 1933) and are active in intriguing on Amanullah's behalf. His chief supporter in Europe is Ghulam Siddiq, a brother of the late Ghulam Nabi. Deprived of Afghan nationality in November 1933. Received an annual allowance of about £150 a month from the Italian Government. In March 1935 again performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he met a number of sympathisers, especially Indians, but appears to have effected little. Returned to Rome, where he normally lives. Since then his adherents in Europe and Asia have been active in spreading propaganda against the present Afghan régime amongst the North-West Frontier tribes. He owns property in Switzerland, which he occasionally visits. Has three sons and four daughters. Different opinions are held as to the possibility of his return, but this seems unlikely unless the situation in Afghanistan seriously deteriorates, possibly as the result of further assassinations of members of the present ruling family, or feeling on the Indian side of the border definitely turns in favour of initiating an incursion into Afghanistan on his behalf. Since he has been living in Italy he invariably leaves for Switzerland during the summer months, but, in 1935, instead of going to Switzerland he rented a large house in Stresa in Northern Italy, and took with him his family and Hasan Jan Muhammad, his brother-in-law. Returned to Rome after a short visit to Montreux on the 17th August, and believed to be in Rome (1937). Visited Mecca again in 1935. Rumoured to draw an allowance from Russia. Still in Italy (1943). Reported to have visited Switzerland (1943). After staying at Gstaad and at Villars he returned to Rome. He was accompanied by an Italian mistress.

Was in Rome with his family when it was liberated by the Allies. Before Shah Wali's return from Paris to Afghanistan early in 1947 Amanullah informed him that he wished to make his peace with the present dynasty. Following this and other approaches to Afghan representatives in Rome he was informed that nothing could be done until he had made his submission. This he did in a letter dated 27th October, 1948, to King Zahir Shah which appeared in the Kabul press on 18th November, 1948, together with an intimation that the King and Parliament had agreed to pardon Amanullah and to restore his Afghan nationality. He was subsequently granted an allowance of £200 a month together with £100 a month for Queen Souriya. The Afghan Government do not apparently intend that he should ever return to Afghanistan and after the initial announcement, which gave rise to a certain amount of pro-Amanullah rumour, have dropped the subject entirely. Still in Italy in March 1949. An old man now, though, and unlikely to regain any of his political importance.

25. Amir Uddin Khan

Born 1899 in Kabul. Educated at Habibiya College, and after working in the electricity department went to Germany whence he returned in 1932 with a diploma in electrical engineering. Technical director and later president of the Textile Company. In 1948 visited Europe and the United States on a purchasing mission. Elected to Kabul Provincial Advisory Council 1949 but refused to accept election.

26. Asadullah Khan (W.W. 199)

Sardar, Mohammadzai, Firqa Mishar (major-general). Born 1911. Is a son of the late Ameer Habibullah by the Ulya Janab, sister of the late King Nadir Shah. Is thus a half-brother of ex-King Amanullah and a cousin of King Zahir Shah. Educated at the French school, Kabul, and speaks French fluently. Imprisoned in Kabul by Bacha-i-Saqao in 1929 and grossly ill-treated. In November 1929 visited Lahore for medical treatment. On return was appointed Sar-i-Oz (Commander of the Royal Bodyguard) and A.D.C. to the Minister of War. Appointed to officiate as second secretary (equivalent to quartermaster-general) War Office, in addition to his other duties, in December 1930. In 1931 qualified at the Infantry Officers' School, Kabul. Promoted Firqa Mishar and appointed General Officer Commanding, Guards Division, 1933. In 1934 acted as Officer Commanding Infantry Officers' School, in the absence of the German instructor, Major Christenn.

Went to Persia to attend the millenary celebrations of the poet Firdausi, October 1934, and returned to Kabul in the same month, having met Reza Shah.

Left Kabul for Europe (March 1937) and represented King Zahir Shah at the Coronation of King George VI. Attended Turkish manoeuvres (August 1937) and returned to Kabul (September 1937).

He visited India again in 1939 for medical treatment. On the reorganisation of the Kabul Army Corps in 1939 he was relieved of his appointment as General Officer Commanding, Guards Division, and became Inspector-General of the Afghan Army. Appointed Chief of General Staff, May 1946. He occasionally officiated as Minister of Defence until 1948 when he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.

Is important as the lineal representative of both the "Kabul" and "Peshawar" Sardars. He is not a particularly strong character and is therefore not likely to be any danger to the present régime. Is a great favourite of the present Prime Minister who is married to his half-sister. Though nervous in manner he is intelligent and takes his profession

seriously. Is very well disposed to the British. Has one son born in 1934. Left for Paris with his wife in January 1949 to secure medical treatment for the latter, returning in June.

27. Ata Muhammad Khan (W.W. 207)

Haji, Tokhi. Son of the late Sardar Abdullah Khan, who was Governor of Mazar in the time of Ameer Habibullah. Quarrelled with Hashim Khan in the time of Ameer Habibullah. Was in Jalalabad when Ameer Habibullah was murdered; was arrested and condemned to death, but was relieved at the last moment. Again arrested on suspicion of complicity in unsuccessful attempt on Amanullah's life at Paghman in 1920, but released at Mahmud Tarzi's request. Appointed diplomatic representative, Bokhara, but his arrival coincided with the Bolshevik revolt (1920) and he returned to Mazar. Was one of Afghan officials ordered to render secret assistance to Enver Pasha in Central Asia (1922). Unemployed for four years. Appointed Governor of Balkh at time of Amanullah's visit to Mazar (1928) just prior to latter's visit to Europe, and awarded the Order of Astor. During the revolution fought against the Saqavi forces of Abdur Rahim, was defeated and fled to Tashkent. Accompanied the late Ghulam Nabi in his unsuccessful effort to recapture Northern Afghanistan in April 1929, and again retired to Russian territory. Returned to Afghanistan soon after Nadir Shah's accession. Was a member of the Commission of Reconstruction sent under Yakub Khan to Mazir-i-Sharif in March 1930. Commanded a flying column during operations against Ibrahim Beg 1931. Promoted Firqa Mishar (major-general) and awarded the Order of Astor, 2nd Class, 1931. Appointed a member of the Council of Nobles December 1931. Visited Mecca in 1932. 1943 President of the Council of Nobles. May 1946, appointed Minister of Justice and given the title of Sardar-i-Ali.

28. Ata-ul-Haq Khan (W.W. 209)

Born about 1885. Eldest son of the late Khwaja Jan of Serai Khwaja, Koh-i-Daman. Brother of the late Sher Jan and the late Muhammad Sadiq Khan, two of the Bacha-i-Saqao's officials. Lived in India until he was 16. Accompanied Ameer Habibullah on his tour in India 1907. In July 1920 appointed to command at Kalat-i-Ghilzai, and was suspended in March 1923 for inefficient handling of the Wazirs. Took over command of Kandahar Infantry Brigade April 1923. Spent two years in Moscow in charge of Afghan students. Appointed Foreign Minister by Bacha-i-Saqao June 1929. Arrested with Bacha-i-Saqao November 1929 on capture of Kabul by Nadir Shah. Is well educated and possesses pleasant manners.

Was released from jail in 1938.

29. Faiz Muhammad Khan (W.W. 243)

Sardar, Muhammadzai. Son of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan (W.W. 317). Born about 1899. Was secretary to the late Muhammad Aslam Khan, Afghan Envoy, Tashkent. Returned to Kabul March 1920. Adviser to the late Muhammad Wali Khan, Afghan Envoy to Moscow 1920. Returned from Moscow and in charge of arrangements for the Suritz party September 1920. Arrived Tashkent the 5th January, 1921, en route to Moscow. Appointed first counsellor to Muhammad Wali's mission to Europe 1921 which visited London, America, Paris and Rome. First Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office 1922. In addition acted as Minister of Education 1923. Appointed Minister of Education March 1924. A member of Bacha-i-Saqao's "Council for the Maintenance of Order" April 1929, although at one time the Bacha had condemned him to death.

Appointed Foreign Minister by King Nadir Shah November 1929. Went on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1933. Was sent to Eastern Province in September 1935 to dissuade Afghans from joining Mohmand Lashkars. Held a jirga at Dakka, and appears to have achieved some success in his object. Returned to Kabul the 23rd September, taking Badshah Gul I (W.W. 224) with him. Left Kabul December 1935 for an extended European tour.

Visited Iraq and Turkey, where he was well received. Later went to Paris, where he saw M. Flandin, and Geneva. In London was received in audience by The King and had conversations with the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and India, Mr. Eden and Lord Zetland. Saw Hitler in Berlin and finally reached Kabul in April 1936 via Moscow. Again visited Europe in 1936, and returned in January 1937. Relinquished post of Foreign Minister in 1938 on appointment as Ambassador to Turkey. Returned to Kabul May 1945 on leave. October 1945, left for Angora.

Well educated and intelligent, he has a good name for financial honesty. Is friendly but superficial, insincere and self-indulgent. Incapable of sustained mental effort. An advocate of the Pathanistan idea and in 1947, when passing through Jamrud, delivered some injudicious remarks in its favour which caused some political stir at the time. Appointed ambassador in London April 1948. Returned to Kabul from Angora in June and left for London on 1st July. Recalled to Kabul for consultations in February 1949. He indulged in sustained and voluble advocacy of the Afghan case in the controversy with Pakistan on the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier and was impervious to argument. On his return journey to London in May 1949 he passed through Teheran where he told the press that he proposed to complain to His Majesty's Government about Pakistan's conduct on this issue.

30. Fazl Ahmad Khan (W.W. 250)

Hazrat Sabib of Chaughtan, Herat. Son of Abdul Wahab and grandson of Hazrat Muhammad Umar Jan of the family of Sirhind Pirs. Born 1892 at Bakharz in East Persia, where his father was in exile. The family returned to Afghanistan in 1902. Qualified as a judge in religious matters. Visited Nadir Shah on his accession in 1929, and was appointed Assistant Minister of Justice 1930, and officiating Minister of Justice *vice* Sher Agha (L.P. 31) in 1932. After Nadir Shah's assassination visited Kandahar to spread propaganda in favour of King Zahir Shah. Appointed Minister of Justice 1934. Member of the joint Perso-Afghan Commission to enquire into the Zorabad (Iran) incident December 1934. May 1946, appointed President of the Senate.

His family is influential and receives an allowance from the Afghan Government, but he himself lacks influence and character. He has pleasant manners and is friendly. Married in 1930 a daughter of Sher Agha (L.P. 31).

31. Fazal-i-Umar (Sher Agha) (W.W. 256)

A member of the family of Sirhind Pirs established in Kabul. Son of Qayum Khan, deceased. Hazrat Sahib of Shor Bazar. Assumed the title of Hazrat Sahib of Shor Bazar on the death of his elder brother, Sher Agha in 1925, the latter having succeeded to the title on his father's death. In 1926 went on pilgrimage to Mecca and did not return to Kabul, but eventually went to Dera Ismail Khan, where in 1928 he was intriguing against Amanullah. Was expelled from the North-West Frontier Province in March 1928 under Frontier Security Regulations for preaching against the Afghan Government. In September 1928 Amanullah asked

him to return to Afghanistan but he refused. After the abdication of King Amanullah he went to the Southern Province where he assisted Nadir Shah. Appointed Minister of Justice November 1929. In July 1930 was sent as Rais-i-Tanzimieh (Supreme Civil and Military Administrator) of the Ghazni area and returned to Kabul at the end of August. In June his daughter married Fazal Ahmad Khan (L.P. 27). In December 1931 tendered his resignation and ceased working as Minister. He was reported at this time to be spreading anti-Nadir propaganda. His resignation, however, was not accepted until December 1932. Was granted a visa in December 1932 to proceed to India, from whence he was to have proceeded on pilgrimage to Mecca, but owing to the death of his mother he returned to Kabul. Visited Sirhind, India, in February 1935, and was instructed by the Afghan Government to persuade the Hazrat of Chaharbagh to return to Afghanistan. He appears to have been in favour of "jihad" on behalf of the Mohmands September 1935, when he visited the Southern Province and brought back to Kabul the principal religious leaders, who, after holding meetings in his house, tried to induce the Prime Minister to declare "jihad." Wields great influence amongst the Suleiman Khel Ghilzais. Visited Sirhind (Punjab) on pilgrimage in March 1940.

Given a fort and 70 acres of land in Chahardeh by King Zahir Shah (March 1936). Visited Mecca, 1938. In 1942 expressed a desire for an Allied victory and according to one report asked his followers to pray for such a victory, but was also reported to be in close contact with the Italian Legation at this time. Visited India in 1944, and again in 1945.

Reactionary and opposed to progressive reforms, he cannot be regarded as a whole-hearted supporter of present régime and for that reason is not trusted by the Government, though he cannot be said to be pro-Amanullah. In 1947 and 1948 opposed official Afghan Government policy of discouraging the movement of tribesmen to the Kashmir front. Active in advocating the Arab cause in Palestine. In December 1948 toured northern Pakistan, making speeches of outspoken condemnation of Indian behaviour in Kashmir and fulsome praise for Pakistan. Probably as a result a projected visit to Sirhind which the Government of India had permitted him to make was abandoned. Early in 1949 he spoke at a Jalalabad jirga in general support of the Afghan Government's campaign against Pakistan, but later he was reported to be urging moderation on the Government. He continues to advocate all-out support to Pakistan in Kashmir.

32. Ghaus-ud-Din Khan (W.W. 264)

Patulla, Ahmadzai, Ghilzai. Son of the late Jehandad Khan, who was implicated in the Ahmadzai Mangal revolt of 1912, and executed for insolence in 1914. In 1915 was concerned in a conspiracy against Ameer Habibullah with Akram Khan and Azam Khan, sons of the late Ayub Khan. Was confined in Jubbulpore jail. Given permission to return to Afghanistan by ex-King Amanullah. His father's family lands and property were restored to him in November 1920. Arrested March 1924 and detained in the Arq whilst there was trouble in Khost, but later released and proceeded to Khost, where his handling of the Ahmadzai Ghilzais in the Ameer's favour gained him the title of "Mir Afghan." Awarded 1½ lakhs of rupees for his services. Made overtures to the British Government after the flight of Amanullah to Kandahar January 1929. Lent his support to Nadir Khan in the Southern Province and raised a lashkar of Ahmadzais. His treachery, on account of a bribe

from Bacha-i-Saqao, was the cause of Nadir Khan's defeat in the Logar Valley in April 1929. Again made overtures to the British Government for support of his claim to the throne. Fled from Hariob to Parachinar at the beginning of October 1929 as a result of the discovery by Nadir Khan that he was in communication with Bacha-i-Saqao. In Delhi under surveillance January 1930, from whence he was removed to Jubbulpore. Departed to Burma in May 1930. Transferred to Kodai Kanal, Madras Presidency, from Burma (1936). Requested permission for his family to return to Afghanistan in 1936, on which the Afghan Government offered to allow him to return also, but on conditions which were unacceptable to him. Offered his assistance to the Afghan Government against Germany and Russia but this was believed to be merely a cloak to cover his real intentions of establishing himself with the Ghilzais.

A deceitful, treacherous and untrustworthy man, always intriguing for his own ends. His present whereabouts are not known. A potential trouble-maker on the frontier.

33. Ghulam Ahmad Khan (W.W. 292)

Son of the late Shahghassi Ali Ahmad Jan, and grandson of the late Luinab Khushdil Khan. Married to a niece of Sardar Faiz Muhammad Khan in 1927. Appointed aide-de-camp to his father when the latter was Rais-i-Tanzimieh (Supreme Civil and Military Administrator) of the Eastern Province in 1924. Left Kabul for Kandahar via Peshawar and Quetta, the 10th March, 1929. Returned to Quetta on his father's arrest by Bacha-i-Saqao and proceeded to Peshawar, September 1929. Returned to Kabul on the accession of Nadir Khan. Accompanied Shah Wali to Bombay, December 1929. Returned to Kabul 1930 (April). In January 1932 visited Lahore for medical treatment, returning to Kabul in March. Went into partnership with Chandan Khan, agent for Burma Shell Company, and managed the petrol business in Kabul. Visited India five times during the period April-December 1932. Assistant manager of the Petrol Company of Afghanistan 1933. In March 1935 appointed Deputy Minister of Court. His step-mother, Suraj-ul-Banat, is a sister of ex-King Amanullah. Assistant manager of the new petrol company in 1936. Relieved of his appointment in the Petrol Company in 1938 and appointed Deputy Court Minister, of which appointment he was relieved in July 1938. Fled to Tirah in September 1939, after discovery of a pro-Amanullah plot, in which he was found to be the ringleader. In November 1939 he was surrendered by a Chamkanni jirga to the political agent, Kurram, and lodged with other leaders in Jamrud Fort. Transferred to Poona in 1940. His present whereabouts are unknown, but he is probably released and somewhere in Pakistan.

34. Ghulam Faruq Khan (W.W. 273)

Muhammadzai. Born 1902. Son of the late Sardar Muhammad Usman Khan. Employed in the Afghan Cypher Department 1920. Assistant manager Motorani Company. Arrested with his father at the same time as ex-King Amanullah arrested the Hazrat Sahibs of Shor Bazar, September 1928. Released October 1928. Arrived in Peshawar from Kabul by air February 1929 accompanied by one of the younger Hazrat Sahibs, Sanai Maksum. Returned to Afghanistan with Sardar Hashim Khan March 1929. Later was employed on propaganda work for Hashim Khan in Mohmand country. Arrived Peshawar via Shabbkadr, September. Left for Ali Khel via Parachinar October 1929. Appointed Under-Secretary to the Minister of the Interior December 1929. Appointed

Governor of the Eastern Province December 1930. In January 1932 married the daughter of Ghulam Muhammad (W.W. 289). His first wife, daughter of the late Sardar Muhammad Aziz Khan, died some time before. In April 1932 was in touch with Afridis and Mohmands, including Badshah Gul (W.W. 224). In July the Safis of Kunar complained of his harsh treatment. Left Jalalabad on the 1st December 1932, on relief by Muhammad Qasim Khan and took over the Governorship of Kandahar. Returned temporarily to Jalalabad in December 1932 to deal with Hassan Khan (W.W. 344), in which he was successful. Did well as Governor of Kandahar and displayed considerable energy. Was awarded the Sardar-i-Ala in January 1933. In July 1935 appointed Governor of Herat in succession to Abdur Rahim. Appointed Governor of Kandahar (1938). Relieved of his post of Governor of Kandahar (1939) owing to poor health and appointed officiating Home Minister. In 1941 appointed Governor (Rais-i-Tanzimiah), Kataghan and Badakhshan Provinces, and in 1942 returned to Kabul to officiate as Home Minister. Relieved of the appointment of Home Minister later in the year, but retained his appointment as Governor of the Kataghan and Badakhshan Provinces. Transferred in February 1946 as head of the civil and military administration in the Eastern Province where he was successful in securing the submission of the Safi rebels. May 1946, appointed Minister of the Interior and given the title of "Sardar-i-Ala." Incurred the displeasure of the Prime Minister in 1942 owing to a liaison with the wife of his brother-in-law (a son of W.W. 288). He divorced his wife and much against the wish of the Royal Family, married the wife of his brother-in-law.

Is capable and hard working and is believed to be loyal to the present régime. Relieved of his appointment July 1948 and appointed Minister of State.

35. Ghulam Muhammad Khan

Sardar Muhammadzai. A younger brother of Ahmad Ali Khan and Ali Shah Khan. Born about 1907. Educated at the French School, Kabul. Employed as clerk in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs prior to his appointment as Director, Protocol Section, of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1939. Visited India in January 1945. May 1946, appointed Afghan Consul-General in Delhi. In 1948 appointed Afghan Chargé d'Affaires at Delhi with the rank of counsellor. Head of Afghan delegation to I.L.O. at Geneva, June 1949.

Friendly and pleasant, but has an exaggerated idea of his own importance. Speaks French and tolerable English.

36. Ghulam Muhammad Khan (W.W. 293)

Son of late Sher Ahmad Khan; born about 1902. Studied in the Harbiya College. October 1921 proceeded to Europe for education. Married a daughter of the late Mohd. Aziz Khan, brother of the late King Nadir Shah. Shareholder in the Shirkat-i-Ashami. Started service as a clerk in the Trade Ministry and later promoted Mudir-i-Amumi Fabrikat. Visited India in 1933. In 1939 appointed Director of Government stores but appointment was cancelled. In July 1941 appointed Secretary of the Ministry of Mines. Flew to England in October 1945 for a serious operation and returned in April 1946. In May 1946 appointed Acting Minister of Mines. Is a brother-in-law of Muhd. Umar Khan. A pleasant and friendly, if somewhat colourless, individual. Speaks English. Left for Switzerland to take his wife for medical treatment early in 1949.

37. Ghulam Muhammad Khan

Born about 1907. Educated at Habibiya College and subsequently in Germany where he became an electrical engineer. Later head of the Electric Company of Afghanistan where he made a very good name for himself. President of the Kabul Municipality 1949. He instigated and carried through a number of reforms with very great energy. A man of no important family and of apparently eccentric behaviour, but popular.

38. Ghulam Rasul Khan (W.W. 305A)

Governor of Ghazni and Karawaz 1939. Officiating Governor of the Southern Province in 1944. Appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in the Ministry of Defence in 1946 and Adjutant-General in 1948. Now Military Governor of the Southern Province and a lieutenant-general.

39. Ghulam Siddiq Khan (W.W. 309)

Sardar-i-Ala. Son of the late Sipah Salar (commander-in-chief) Ghulam Haider, Charkhi. Brother of the late Ghulam Jilani Khan, late Ghulam Nabi and Abdul Aziz. Born 1894. Assistant to Gul Muhammad Khan, Afghan Envoy in India, October 1919, and a junior member of the Afghan delegation at the Mussoorie Conference. Left Mussoorie with despatches for Kabul June 1920, and was refused readmittance into India owing to his improper behaviour at Mussoorie and intrigues with seditionists. Appointed assistant president to the Muhajarin Committee, Kabul, August 1920. Second Counsellor to the Afghan Mission under Wali Muhammad Khan which visited Europe in 1920. Returned from London to Kabul with despatches September 1921. Left again for Europe, via Peshawar, October 1921. Appointed Afghan Minister at Berlin 1922, where he remained until April, 1926, when he was relieved by Ahmad Ali. Visited Angora whilst en route to Kabul from Berlin. Appointed first personal secretary to the King and Minister of Court January 1927. Appointed to officiate as Foreign Minister January 1927 during absence of the late Mahmud Tarzi in Europe. With King Amanullah in Europe in 1928. Appointed Foreign Minister November 1928. Sent to Jalalabad to bargain with rebels December 1928. Flew with Amanullah to Kandahar January 1929. Despatched to Russia by Amanullah on a special mission March 1929. Assumed the duties of Afghan Minister, Moscow, April 1929. Returned Kabul December 1929. In Mecca June 1930. In Berlin 1930 engaged in anti-Nadir activities. Set out for Afghanistan under promise of free pardon from the King. Arrived in Kabul the 7th March, 1931. Suspected distributing agent of Amanullah's letters in Kabul April 1931. Arrived Berlin the 18th July, 1931, to take up the appointment of Afghan Minister. Worked almost openly against his own Government and Britain during his tenure in Berlin, encouraging anti-British propaganda over the Dokalim Boundary question at the beginning of 1932 and granting a visa to Ishar Singh Ghadrte against the wishes of the Afghan Government. Wrote to Nadir professing his loyalty in July 1932. His brother, the late Ghulam Nabi, was staying with him in July 1932 when he was invited to return to Afghanistan by the King. As a result of the plot discovered when Ghulam Nabi was executed in November 1932, Ghulam Siddiq was dismissed from his appointment. Visited Mecca during spring 1933 and in touch with pro-Amanullah Afghan element amongst the pilgrims. Visited Constantinople in early summer and was in touch with Soviet representative, Bovoroi, through his brother Abdul Aziz Khan. Engaged in active pro-Amanullah work in Europe. Visited Berlin in November 1933. Visited Rome in January 1934. In 1934 married

Bibi Khurd (W.W. 230), sister of ex-Queen Souriya (W.W. 623). Lived in Berlin (1936), and frequently visited Rome, where he was believed to be in close touch with Amanullah and working hard on his behalf. Receives an annual allowance from the Italian Government. A close personal friend of ex-King Amanullah and greatly trusted by him. Speaks French, German and a little English. Bitterly opposed to present Afghan régime, and now ex-King Amanullah's principal adherent in Europe. Stated to be wealthy and to have money invested with Haji Ghulam Haider (W.W. 278). Deprived of Afghan nationality in November 1933. Believed willing to work for Italian interests in Asia. Believed to have been involved in spring 1940 in a plot to restore Amanullah with German and Russian assistance. Plans said to have miscarried owing to disagreement between Germany and Soviet. Was reported in April 1940 to have arrived in Stalinabad. In 1941 he arrived in Istanbul, but the Turkish Government refused him permission to stay there and he returned to Germany. Taken from Berlin to Moscow by the Russians in 1945 and at first well treated but later imprisoned. Has been offered an annuity by the Afghan Government on condition he returns to Afghanistan. May be in the Soviet Zone of Germany and might some day be used by the Russians.

40. Ghulam Yahya Khan (W.W. 311)

Muhammadzai. Born 1898. Son of Habibullah Naib Tarzi, deceased, and nephew of the late Mahmud Tarzi. Brother of W.W. 109, and cousin of L.P. 42. Formerly secretary of Afghan Legation, Berlin. Appointed Under-Secretary, Visa and Passport Branch of Foreign Office, June 1926. Transferred to charge of Persia and Turkey section of Foreign Office, November 1926. Received Order of Astor, 1st class, February 1927. Accompanied Amanullah to Europe 1927-28. Roughly handled by Bacha-i-Saqao's men, but still in the Foreign Office, January 1929. Appointed Afghan Minister, Rome, December 1929. Assistant Secretary, Political Department of Foreign Office. Promoted First Secretary, Afghan Foreign Office, 1930. Visited Chakhansur, November 1931, in connexion with Helmand water dispute with Persia. Officiated for the Foreign Minister in the autumn of 1933. Appointed Director (Rais) of Department of Public Health February 1935. Appointment raised to that of Minister in June. Was relieved of his post of Minister of Health in November 1939, and appointed Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. Reappointed Minister of Health 1940. Again appointed Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in June 1946. Appointed minister at Bagdad in April 1948. Also accredited to Syria, the Lebanon and Transjordan.

A pleasant, well-mannered man but corrupt and of no outstanding ability who has been reported to be pro-Amanullah and also a member of the Republican party. Speaks German and Turkish.

41. Gul Ahmad Khan (W.W. 315)

Tajik. Son of Mirza Abdul Ahmad Khan. Brother of F. M. Abdul Ahad Khan and Abdullah Khan, Governor of Herat. Born about 1897.

Was in charge of Government buildings at the beginning of Amanullah's reign. Later on became Superintendent of Roads and Ways. Afterwards appointed Assistant Chief Judge. Some time later was placed at the head of the Intelligence Department. During Amanullah's march to Ghazni from Kandahar, Gul Ahmad fled with his family from Kabul and joined the ex-King on the way. In 1929 said to be in Karachi. A member on the committee for reform led by Muhammad Yakub Khan (W.W.

575) to Mazar-i-Sharif, June 1930. Believed to be Governor of Mazar-i-Sharif 1931. Arrived in Kabul June 1931. Appointed President of the Kabul Municipality in 1932. Appointed Governor of Mazar-i-Sharif vice Abdul Jamil Khan (W.W. 49) in November 1934, which post he still holds. Appointed Minister of Health in 1939, but appointment later cancelled.

Believed to be capable and intelligent. Supporter of the present Afghan régime. Speaks some English.

42. Habibullah Khan Tarzi (W.W. 325)

Muhammadzai. Born 1896. Son of the late Muhammad Zaman and nephew of the late Mahmud Tarzi. Cousins, W.W. 100 and W.W. 311. Was a junior Under-Secretary in Indo-European branch of the Foreign Office 1922-23. Proceeded to Paris as secretary to Mahmud Tarzi when latter was Minister at Paris. On his return to Kabul was appointed Under-Secretary in charge of the branch of the Foreign Office dealing with India and Europe. Appointed Afghan Minister in Paris, November 1928. Relieved by Ahmad Ali Jan December 1929 and returned to Kabul. Third secretary in Foreign Office, May 1931. Chief delegate to the Dokalim Boundary Commission, June 1932. Chief delegate on the Persian Boundary and Helmand Water Commission, October 1932. Visited Herat and Islam Kala, thence to Zulfikar and Chakhansur in this connexion. Completed his work on the Persian boundary survey in June 1933 and returned to Kabul. Appointed Minister at Tokyo in July 1933 and presented his credentials there in October 1933. Returned to Kabul June 1939, and appointed first secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. June 1946, appointed Afghan Minister in China, represented Afghan Government at Philippines Independence Day celebrations on his way to take up his appointment.

He owns property in Shahr-i-Nau, is an exacting landlord who always wishes to raise rents and make money. He speaks English fluently and is pleasant and well-mannered. Was retained at headquarters for seven years because he was not entirely trusted by the present régime.

43. Jalaluddin Khan Tarzi

Brother of No. 35. Born about 1910. Formerly Under-Secretary (Muin) in the Ministry of Health. Appointed Director-General of the International Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in August 1948. Speaks good French.

44. Juma Khan Saddiqi

Born about 1903. Employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and represented the Afghan Government on the last two Kurram Commissions between 1939 and 1944. Governor of Badakhshan 1945. Afghan Trade Agent in Peshawar 1946.

Regarded as an efficient official by the former Prime Minister, Mohammed Hashim, and was sent to Peshawar to clear up the confusion left by his predecessor. A pleasant man who is always friendly to the British, though a refusal to allow him to become a member of the Peshawar Club may have soured him.

45. Mahmud Jan (W.W. 415)

Sardar-i-Ala. Shahassi, Barakzai. Born 1885. Son of Shah Muhammad Khan, and a distant cousin of Abdul Aziz Khan, and the Ulya Hazrat. Officiated as Minister of Public Security in 1922 and as Governor of Kabul in 1925. Was in charge of the Public Works and Secret Service. Also in charge of the Frontier Tribes Department, of which Haji Muhammad Akbar was Under-Secretary. Was in partnership with Herr Harten, German engineer

in charge of Dar-ul Aman works, and made a lot of money out of public works. Created Sardar-i-Ala, January 1927. Appointed Wali of Kabul, December 1927. Captured by rebels near Jalalabad, December 1928, where he had been sent to restore order. Arrested by Bacha-i-Saqao, February 1929. Released during the Independence celebrations, August 1929. Was appointed officer in charge State Workshops, November 1929, but was deprived of his appointment the following month. Imprisoned in the Arq on a charge of theft of Government funds and jewels, January 1930. Under trial for being concerned in the Koh-i-Daman revolt of 1930. Released in January 1931, but rearrested with other members of the Shahgassi family in connexion with the Ghulam Nabi and Dare Khel plots in November 1932. His brother Zobain also arrested. His ears are said to have been trimmed as a punishment. Was released in November 1933 and kept under surveillance. A stout, pleasant gentleman; was friendly to foreigners. A great personal friend of ex-King Amanullah. Speaks Pashtu.

Reported to have been arrested in March 1936 for the murder of his own son. Reported to be still in Kabul jail, though he may now be dead. In any case, it has been reported that he is out of his mind.

46. Mohendra Pratap Singh (alias Raja) (W.W. 437)

Indian agitator, son of Raja Ghanshyam Singh, Jat, of Mursan, Aligarh, United Provinces, and brother of the Maharani of Jhind. Founder of the Prem Vidyalaya (the Free Industrial and National Arts College) of Brindaban. Went to England at the end of 1914, and to Berlin in the autumn of 1915 where he posed as an Indian prince. Had an interview with the Kaiser and accompanied the German mission to Kabul in 1916. Arrived at Mazar-i-Sharif in 1917. Endeavoured to come to India, but returned owing to our precautions. In 1918 with a party of Afghans left Mazar-i-Sharif for Russian Turkestan, and proceeded to Tashkent. In March 1918 was in Berlin, and later went to Petrograd, where he received a warm welcome from Trotsky and Joffe. Same year visited Constantinople, where he delivered Ameer's reply to the Sultan. No reliable news in early 1919 as to his whereabouts, but supposed to have gone to Tashkent via Bokhara. Came to Kabul with the Suritz Mission December 1919. Regarded as an imbecile of no importance by the Bolsheviks in Kabul, but Obaidullah (W.W. 491) found him useful as a figurehead and to attract Hindus to his party. Left Kabul and arrived at Wakhan, the 14th June, 1920, en route for China. Sent a letter to the Governor of Tashkurghan saying that he had been appointed Afghan Envoy to China by the Ameer. He soon returned, as passage to China was refused by the Chinese authorities. In September 1920 he was in the Pamirs. Did a tour in China and Japan and returned to Kabul in autumn of 1923. Left Kabul the 16th September, 1924; visited California, China, attempted to enter Tibet, then went to Japan, whence he was deported. Returned to Afghanistan in October 1926. His reception in Kabul was remarkably frigid and although he held a number of receptions very few people of importance attended. This was mainly due to the displeasure of the King at Mohendra having styled himself Afghan representative at a Pan-Islamic conference in Japan, photographs describing him as such and showing his uncere- monious arrest and deportation having been seen by the King in English illustrated papers. Left Kabul for the north, the 31st January, 1927, and arrived Moscow, February 1927. Returned to China, but back in Moscow November 1928 preparing to hold "Pan-Asiatic" Conference in Kabul. Owing to outbreak of rebellion was prevented from leaving Tashkent to come to Kabul by King Amanullah.

Went to Tehran January, 1929 and returned to Moscow in April 1929. Returned to Kabul from Moscow by air December 1929. Was in close touch with Allah Nawaz (W.W. 182). He was deported by air to Termez in March 1930. Visited Berlin and reached New York on the 27th May, 1930. Is believed to be of some use to the OGPU. Was in China in 1931 and 1932. (His address there was P.O. Box 20, Peking, China). Published two books: *Afghanistan, the Herat of Arjan*, and *Long Live India!* Moved to Japan at the end of 1933 or beginning of 1934, where he was in touch with the Japanese Government. Continued to spread anti-British propaganda. Left Japan secretly for Siam in June 1934, believed at Japanese instigation to further their pan-Asiatic policy. Forbidden to lecture in Siam. Turned out of Siam, arrived Tokyo, August 1934, having been deported from Canton.

Was in Manila in February 1935, back in Japan in April 1935 and left for America in July 1935. Has agitated for his own return to India through the Indian Legislatures. Has been regarded as an Afghan subject since 1934.

In the Far East in 1937. Reported to be in Japan (1942). His present whereabouts are unknown, but he may be back in India.

47. Muhammad Agha Sami (W.W. 555)

Brother of Shahgassi Muhammad Yakub Khan (W.W. 675). Son of Muhammad Yusuf Khan, a Munshi to Ameer Habibullah. A Mohmand by birth, but the family have settled in Ghazni for some generations. Was Mehmandar to the British mission in Kabul, 1921. Appointed Commandant of Police, Kabul, but was dismissed in 1923, partly due to escape of Ardali and Daud Shah (W.W. 237) from Kabul gaol and partly due to reports of his complicity in murder of one Abdul Ali. Appointed Political Officer during Mangal rebellion 1924, and sent to the front, where his services earned appreciation of the Ameer. Appointed Mehmandar to Wakils of Eastern Provinces during Ameer's visit of April 1926. Reappointed Commandant of Police, Kabul, August 1926. Was a trusted personal informer to the Ameer. Efficient, controlled a mob with great skill during the fire which gutted the British Legation at Kabul December 1926. Appointed officiating Governor of Kabul November 1928. Arrested by Bacha-i-Saqao February 1929, but escaped and joined Amanullah in Kandahar. Sent to Tashkent as courier by Amanullah, returning again to Kandahar via Duzdap, April 1929. Accompanied Amanullah in his flight as far as Quetta, where he remained. Left for Meshed in August 1929. Later returned to Kabul. Arrested and sentenced to banishment for implication in Koh-i-Daman revolt, July 1930, but subsequently released. Said to be doing propaganda work in favour of Amanullah. On pilgrimage to Mecca, March 1931. Arrived Tehran with W.W. 675 in December 1931. Applied for permission to visit India, but was refused. Still in Tehran, where his brother Yakub Khan (W.W. 675) has joined him; also his nephew and niece from Quetta. He and his son, Muhammad Bashir, deprived of Afghan nationality, November 1933. His property in Afghanistan is said to have been confiscated in 1934 and his family deported to Iran.

Was reported (1940) to be in touch with German agents in Iran, and probably receiving money from Germany to stir up trouble in Afghanistan. Still reported to be in Iran in 1947.

48. Muhammad Akbar Khan (W.W. 161)

Muhammadzai. Brother of W.W. 113, Minister of Health 1930. Cousin of the late King Nadir Shah, to whom he was Surgeon-General. Director of Medical Services October 1932. Appointed Minister at Rome 1935 and presented his credentials in May 1935.

Relieved of appointment as Minister at Rome, March 1936, and returned to Kabul. Is married to a sister of Ahmed Shah Khan.

Civil A.D.C. to the King, 1942. Visited India in 1945. Lives a somewhat retired life.

49. Muhammad Akram Khan (W.W. 162A)

Born approximately 1909. Director of the Reception Branch of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1937-39. Appointed Muin I in the Ministry of National Economy 1939, and acted, in addition, as Private Secretary to the King. 1946, appointed Minister at Rome. He is related to the ruling family and enjoys the affection and confidence of the King. A pleasant, well-mannered individual, apparently friendly with the British Legation, but was suspected of having been involved in pro-Axis intrigue in 1942-43. Appointed ambassador at Angora 1948. Arrived in Kabul from Rome on leave, July 1948. Presented his credentials at Angora on 17th August, 1948.

50. Muhammad Amin (Amin Jan) (W.W. 184)

A son of the Amir Habibullah by a slave girl, born in 1913. Arrived in Parachinar from Hazara country in September 1929 and left for Lahore in October of the same year. Arrested in Peshawar and deported to Burma in March 1930. Transferred to Madras in 1940. Released by Government of India on partition in 1947. His submission was accepted by the Afghan Government and he was granted an Afghan passport in Karachi in 1948. He then went to Burma (according to the Afghan Government) to install his British wife there. In September 1948 he was reported in Mahsud country at Sararogha. His activities and alleged encouragement by Pakistan authorities were the subject of continual protests by the Afghan Government to Pakistan and to the British Embassy. In May 1949 he collected a lashkar of about a thousand Muhajirs and moved north as if to enter Khost near Mughulgai. Political pressure by the Pakistan authorities led to the dispersal of his lashkar before it reached Afghanistan, but Afghans assembled to ward him off at Mughulgai were bombed by a Pakistan aircraft on 12th June resulting in serious tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

51. Muhammad Aminullah Jan (or Amin Khan) (W.W. 186)

Sardar, Muhammadzai. Born the 12th October, 1885. Third surviving son of Amir Abdul Rahman. His mother was a slave girl belonging to the late Bibi Halima, who was said to have adopted him before her own son was born. Was formerly in charge of the Shara (Muhammadan Law) Department at Kabul, and was also in charge of the Jabba Khana (magazine). In 1917 he held the appointment of Sardar-i-Madafia (director of military defence). Has one son born about 1903, and a daughter said to have been married to Sardar Abdul Qudus August 1919 at Kandahar. Appointed A.D.C. to the King 1926. Arrested by Bacha-i-Saqao in January 1929. Arrived Quetta and left for Lahore the 4th November, 1929. Residing in Tehran 1930 in straitened circumstances. Appealed for an allowance from the Government of India in 1930. Is said to be very eccentric. In Iran 1943.

52. Mohammed Anwar Khan (W.W. 194)

Born about 1880. Governor of Farah 1929. Appointed Deputy Commander-in-chief 1935. Acting War Minister 1939 and A.D.C. to the King 1948.

53. Mohammed Arif Khan

Born about 1910. Educated at the German School in Kabul, completed his military training in

Turkey in 1938 and was sent to Germany to purchase war material for the Afghan Government. He returned to Kabul in 1939 and was appointed Director of Military Training at the Ministry of Defence. In 1940 he became Chief of Staff to Muhammad Daud Khan, General Officer Commanding, Kabul Army Corps, and has been closely associated with him in the introduction of reforms in this corps. In 1944 he was promoted to lewa mishaar and given command of a brigade (lewa) in the Kabul Army Corps. In 1941 he married a niece of H.R.H. the Prime Minister. He belongs to the circle of young officers headed by Muhammad Daud Khan who wish to carry out reforms in the army at the greatest possible speed. He is a capable officer and a shrewd and careful negotiator who has the confidence of the Afghan Government. In his dealings with the British Military Attaché he has always been friendly and helpful. He speaks Turkish and German, and was at one time suspected to be pro-German in his sympathies. Was member of an Afghan Military Mission which proceeded to India, December 1944. Promoted field-marshal II in 1946, and General Officer Commanding, 2nd Division. In command of troops sent to Kunar Valley in 1947 to deal with Safi disturbances. 1948 appointed General Officer Commanding the Kabul Army Corps.

54. Muhammad Atiq Khan (W.W. 209A)

Born approximately 1894. Muhammadzai. Sardar. Son of Rafiq Khan and son-in-law of Sardar Ahmad Shah Khan, Court Minister. Brother of Babo Jan alias Zulikha, widow of late Sardar Hayatullah Khan, step-brother of ex-King Amanullah. Visited Moscow in 1935. Is an economic expert trained in Germany. Was kept under surveillance in 1939 for his alleged pro-Amanullah sympathies. 1946, appointed head of the Agricultural Department.

Speaks Russian and German fluently and was formerly reputed to be strongly Germanophile and to be responsible for the increased German influence in the Royal Family. Shows no outward signs now (1944) of being pro-German, but is an enlightened Nationalist who works hard and with great ability for the industrial development of his country. A pleasant and intelligent man, friendly to the British Legation and appreciative of the assistance rendered to his country by the British and Indian Governments in industrial matters, particularly the textile industry, during the war. He professes to be anxious that trade connexions thus formed should be maintained and developed after the war. He is, however, frankly critical of methods of British trade, *vis-à-vis* Afghanistan, and of the opinion that his country will do better by developing closer economic ties with other European countries on the continent. Largely instrumental in procuring services of large team of Austrian agricultural banking and other experts for work in Afghanistan. Proceeded to Europe in June 1949 to purchase agricultural equipment and to find markets for certain Afghan exports. Countries visited included Czechoslovakia.

55. H.H. Lieutenant-General Sardar Muhammad Daud Khan (W.W. 238)

Elder son of the late Sardar Muhammad Aziz Khan (brother of King Nadir Shah). Born 1909 in Kabul. Educated at the Amania College, Kabul. Spent nine years in France and returned to Kabul in October 1930. 1931 attended a year's course at the Infantry Officers' School, where he worked hard and was well reported on by the senior German instructor. November 1932 promoted Firqa Mishar (major-general) and appointed General Officer Commanding, Eastern Province. In February 1934 assumed the duties of Governor of the province in addition to his

duties as General Officer Commanding. His strictness made him unpopular and he was inclined to be headstrong and hasty. Took a great interest in the training of his troops and the Eastern Province detachment at the Independence celebrations in 1934 was conspicuous for its smartness. In July 1935 was transferred as Governor and General Officer Commanding, Kandahar, and General Officer Commanding of the Farah and Chakhansur Division. In 1934 married a sister of King Zahir Shah. Governor and General Officer Commanding, Kandahar, in 1936 and 1937. Appointed Rais-i-Tanzimieh (Supreme Civil and Military Administrator) of the Eastern Province (1938).

Appointed General Officer Commanding Kabul Central Army Corps and Commandant of the Military Schools in Kabul in August 1939. 1946 May, appointed Minister of Defence and given the decoration of "Almarra-i-Ali."

A keen and energetic soldier with a vigorous personality. Speaks French well and is a favourite of ex-Prime Minister (L.P. 58). He did a great deal to improve the efficiency of the Kabul Army Corps acting at times independently of the Minister of Defence. Is determined to improve the standard of the army and to get rid of inefficient officers, a policy which has already (June 1946) led to serious differences between him and the Prime Minister (L.P. 83). In 1942, when the prospects of the Allied nations appeared not too favourable, he was believed to be advocating an approach to Germany by the Afghan Government. He is stated to be a strong Afghan Nationalist, who is inclined to resent the employment of foreign advisers, but favours seeking the assistance of Great Britain and the United States in training and equipping the Afghan army, though he is a difficult person to deal with, as he always suspects ulterior motives. His serious differences with the Prime Minister have continued and probably led to his appointment in April 1948 to be minister in Paris. Presented his credentials on 18th June, 1948, also accredited as minister to Belgium, January 1949. Appointed to be the first Afghan Ambassador in Paris, May 1949. Returned to Kabul for consultations, June 1949.

56. Muhammad Gul Khan (W.W. 315A)

Son of Muhammad Khurshid Khan (W.W. 408). Kuchi Mohmand of village Baru (on the Hissarak Rud, about 7 miles west of Batikot). Educated in Turkey. Was a Ghund Mishar (brigadier) in Amanullah's army in 1927. Promoted Firqa Mishar (major-general) and appointed General Officer Commanding, Eastern Province, in 1928. In Jalalabad during the Saqavi régime until the burning of Jalalabad, when he returned to his home at Baru. He joined H.R.H. Sardar Hashim Khan in Khugani country about March 1929. Was Minister of the Interior in Nadir Shah's first Government October 1929. Promoted Naib Salar (general) and appointed to officiate as Rais-i-Tanzimieh (Supreme Civil and Military Administrator), Eastern Province. He held this post until the summer of 1930. During this time he did much to restore order in the province and dealt with the Shinwari attempt on Torkham in February 1930. After the Kohistan rising in 1930 he was appointed Rais-i-Tanzimieh of that district and apparently succeeded in pacifying the people. Assumed duties of Minister of Interior in October 1930. Appointed Rais-i-Tanzimieh of Kandahar in February 1931, and left for Kandahar via India. Administered the province with firmness and efficiency. Congratulated by the Government on his work January 1932. Visited Kabul for Independence celebrations August 1932; was awarded the Sardar-i-Ala, first class, and a grant of 25,000 Kabuli rupees. Was offered Governorship of

Herat in September 1932, but refused owing to his friendship for Abdur Rahim. Appointed Rais-i-Tanzimieh, Mazar, Kataghan and Badakhshan and Maimana, November 1932. Relieved at Kandahar by Ghulam Faruq in January 1933, and left for Mazar. Visited Kabul September 1935. Believed to have asked the Prime Minister to help the Mohmands against the British. Refused to visit Eastern Province to explain Mohmand situation to Afghans, and believed to have quarrelled with Prime Minister (L.P. 58) on this subject. Returned to Mazar about the 1st October. Reported to be on bad terms with W.W. 315. Resigned Governorship of Northern Provinces 1940 and appointed Minister of State 1941, a post he still holds though he has withdrawn to his estate at Haibak and remains there in spite of the Prime Minister's attempts to induce him to take a more active part in the Administration. His resignation of the Governorship of the Northern Province is thought to have been due to his dislike of Abdul Majid's trade development schemes. Still in retirement in 1948 at Haibak and on his estate near Balkh.

A quiet, well-mannered man, but ruthless. A vigorous and ambitious personality loyal to the present régime though there have been vague rumours as to his connexions with the Republican Party. An efficient administrator, he speaks Urdu, Persian, Pashtu, Russian and Turkish. Came out of retirement early in 1949 when he appeared at Jalalabad as the advocate with the Mohmands of the Afghan Government's Pathanistan policy. Appointed representative of the Kuchi nomads in National Council May 1949, but his election was subsequently invalidated.

57. Muhammad Haider Khan (W.W. 329A)

Born about 1904. Son of Ata Muhammad Khan (Mir, Qazi of Herat). Formerly Afghan representative at the League of Nations and subsequently private secretary to the King. Appointed Afghan Ambassador at Tehran *vice* Muhammad Nauroz Khan in January 1944. Appointed Minister of Finance 1946.

58. H.R.H. Muhammad Hashim Khan (W.W. 337)

Muhammadzai. Son of Sardar Yusuf Khan (junior) and uncle of King Zahir Shah. Half-brother of the late King Nadir and of L.P. 83 and L.P. 84. Born 1886. Commanded the Sar-i-Os (bodyguard) at Kabul and accompanied Ameer Habibullah to India in 1907. Appointed Naib Salar (general) of Herat and left Kabul in 1916. Keen on instituting reforms, but checked in this direction by threat of mutiny on the part of the troops. Arrested and sent to Kabul after the murder of Habibullah, but subsequently released. People of Herat refused to have him back after his release and he was relieved. Appointed Governor of Jalalabad December 1919. Governor, Eastern Province, 1920. Went on tour in July 1921 and distributed rewards to the Mohmands and some Bajauri tribesmen, at the same time doing his best to create an atmosphere of hostility to the British; the next month he warned the tribesmen to be ready for "jihad." Summoned jirgas of the Malikidin Khel and Kambar Khel Afridis to Jalalabad in September 1921. Rewards in the shape of money were doled out to the tribesmen, who were informed that Nadir Khan had promised to arrange permanent allowances and the distribution of rifles for them from the Afghan Government. Reported in August 1921 to have engineered, in conjunction with Nadir Khan, the robbery of one of the British mission mail bags *en route* from Kabul to India. Went to Kabul from Jalalabad on the 10th November, 1921. Officiating as Minister of War, Kabul, January 1922, *vice* Nadir Khan, who proceeded on

tour. Went to Europe with his father in 1923. Appointed Minister at Moscow March 1924, when he was unpopular owing to his constant suspicions of Soviet policy. Opposed the military training of Afghans in Russia, and on his views being disclosed by the Afghan Government to the Soviet authorities he resigned and left Moscow 3rd July, 1926, to join his brother Nadir Khan at Grasse. Offered position of Minister at Tehran, which he refused, October 1926. Nur-us-Siraj, the sister of the King, whom he wished to marry, was betrothed to Amanullah's cousin, Muhammad Hasan Jan (W.W. 342) in October 1926. This was looked upon as an insult by Hashim Khan and his brothers. At Grasse December 1928. Granted diplomatic visa for India *en route* to Afghanistan January 1929, and left Marseilles with Nadir Khan and Shah Wali on 8th February, 1929. Left Peshawar for the Eastern Province 6th March, 1929, where he tried to obtain support for Nadir, but met with little success. Was defeated by Bacha-i-Saqao and arrived Parachinar 19th September, 1929. Arrived Quetta 1st October, 1929, where he remained under surveillance until 27th October, 1929, when he was permitted by the Indian Government to proceed to Kandahar. Proceeded to Kabul, 9th November, 1929, on his appointment as Premier and Minister of Interior. Was on tour in the Northern Provinces when Nadir Shah was assassinated and returned immediately to Kabul. Swore allegiance to Zahir Shah, since whose accession, and until his resignation in May 1946, he was the real ruler of Afghanistan. Visited Berlin, October 1936 for a tumour operation which was successful. Visited London in January and February 1937 and returned to Kabul in March via India. Had a serious heart attack in November 1943 but recovered and in the spring of 1944 gradually resumed control of important affairs, leaving routine matters to his nephew (L.P. 64).

A real patriot and a tremendous worker, he laboured to improve the stability of the country. Insisted on a high standard of efficiency and was high-handed with officials who respected and feared him. Trusted very few of his fellow countrymen which made him even more unpopular. Will still continue to be a force behind the scenes despite his retirement. Is personally quiet and dignified though his temper is short and he can be outspoken and ruthless when roused. His manners are charming—he has a keen sense of humour and an ability to come to quick decisions. Always violently anti-Russian he turned from 1944 onwards more and more to the British. Is very friendly to members of the British Legation in Kabul. Understands English well and speaks it fairly. Expresses serious concern at the present deterioration in the administration of the country since he handed over the reins of office in 1946. Left for Europe and America in October 1948 and has not yet returned.

59. Muhammad Hassan Jan (W.W. 342)

Muhammadzai. Born 1902. Son of Sardar Muhammad Umar Khan (W.W. 648). A.D.C. to King Amanullah 1926. Created Sardar-i-Ala February 1926. Married to Nur-us-Siraj, Amanullah's sister, October 1927. Was well known to the British Legation at Kabul. Accompanied King Amanullah to Europe 1927-28 as Chamberlain. Also went with Amanullah to Kandahar after his abdication January 1929 and to Bombay May 1929. Sailed for Italy June 1929. Was in Rome from October 1931 to July 1932. Not definitely located between summer 1932 and December 1933, but said to be in Rome with Amanullah and to be verging on lunacy. Deprived of Afghan nationality November 1933. Accompanied Amanullah Khan to the

Hejaz in 1935. In Rome with Amanullah during summer of 1935.

60. Muhammad Ismail Khan (W.W. 377A)

Wardaki, Totu Khel, Ghilzai. Son of Abdullah Khan (W.W. 63) and nephew of W.W. 4. At one time Director of the Eastern Branch, Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Governor (Hakim-i-Kalan) of the Northern District, Kabul Province. Officiating Governor, Kataghan and Badakhshan. Wali of Kabul since 1939. Has pleasant manners and is friendly in his attitude towards British Embassy. Not on good terms with His Royal Highness Shah Mahmud. Believed to be corrupt.

61. Muhammad Kabir Khan Ludin

Born 1903. Educated in America where he studied engineering. Since his return he has been working in the Public Works Department and in 1944 was appointed acting Minister of Public Works. Visited India in 1945, to make purchases of stores. Responsible for the start of the Bogra canal. Acted as adviser to the Mangals and Sabiris in the Kurram Water dispute. May 1946 appointed Minister of Public Works. Speaks English very well. Has a reputation for being anti-British, but it is perhaps natural that with his background he should look rather to America for assistance. Visited the United States in 1947 to 1948 in connexion with the Morrison-Knudsen contract and the dispute with Persia over the Helmand water. Returned in June 1948.

62. Sardar Mohammed Karim Khan

Formerly Governor of the Badakhshan province. Appointed Governor of the Herat province May 1948. He is a younger brother of Ahmad Shah Khan, Minister of Court, and son-in-law of Mirza Mohammad Khan. He has held appointments in the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Mines. Though somewhat young for the Governorship of Herat he is interested in improving communications and in town development, and should do reasonably well.

63. Muhammad Khan, Mirza (W.W. 450)

Sent to Merv on a special mission October 1919. Still in Merv June 1920. Later said to be in Tashkent. Left for Moscow July 1920. Afghan Minister at Moscow 1921 until relieved by the late Ghulam Nabi Khan. On return from Russia he was for a short time an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce. In 1924 was sent to Europe to negotiate the sale of certain Crown jewels. Appointed First Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office on return from Europe. Chief Afghan member of the Urta Tagai Boundary Commission, and proceeded to Badakhshan January 1926, returning in June 1926. Appointed Minister at Moscow October 1926, having first refused appointment of Minister at Rome. As Minister at Moscow he preserved a broad outlook and was not noticeably pro-Soviet. Under-Secretary in Foreign Office 1928. Remained at Foreign Office under Bacha-i-Saqao January 1929. Appointed Under-Secretary Foreign Office by King Nadir Shah November 1929. Appointed Minister of Trade September 1930. In May 1932 was complimented by the King for his work. Was put under secret surveillance as a result of the plot discovered in September 1933. Left Kabul in October, with the Prime Minister, to visit the north. Returned to Kabul in November and swore allegiance to Zahir Shah. Appointed Minister of Trade in 1937. 1938, appointed Minister of Revenue. Relieved of his post May 1946 and appointed Minister of State without portfolio and given the title of Sardar-i-Ala. A man of no great standing or marked ability. Is said to enjoy the confidence of the ex-Prime

Minister, but to be on bad terms with the present Prime Minister. While he was Trade Minister, the customs revenue of the country increased considerably. Was one of the prime movers in the formation of the Ashami Company. Is believed to be a heavy bribe taker. His sister, who was a widow of the late Ameer Habibullah, was given in marriage to Abdul Qadir, Bacha-i-Saqao's Governor of Kandahar. Is inclined to be anti-British, but is lately believed to be less so than formerly. His son, Abdullah Khan, was one of six students who were sent to Japan January 1935. Now Minister of State and of less importance than formerly.

64. H.H. Sardar Muhammad Naim Khan (W.W. 464a)

Son of the late Muhammad Aziz Khan, Muhammadzai. Born 1911. Visited India in November 1929 with Asadullah Khan. Appointed Under-Secretary, Foreign Office, October 1930. Appointed minister, Rome, December 1932; recalled in 1934 and appointed extra secretary in the Foreign Office, Kabul. Appointed First Secretary 1935. Married in 1934 the eldest sister of King Zahir Shah. His wife gave birth to a son in August 1935.

Officiating Foreign Minister December 1935 and again in 1936 during the absence of Faiz Muhammad in Europe.

Also acting managing director, Afghan National Bank, during absence of Abdul Majid in Europe 1936-37. Appointed Minister of Education in 1937. Appointed president of Kabul Literary Society June 1937.

Appointed Acting Foreign Minister during the Foreign Minister's absence in Tehran June 1937 and Jalalabad in January 1938. Visited Khanabad as head of an investigation committee (1939).

Appointed assistant to the Prime Minister (September 1939), in addition to his duties as Minister of Education. In 1941 appointed officiating Minister of National Economy during absence of W.W. 73 in Europe in addition to his own duties. Officiated as Prime Minister in the winter of 1943 during the illness of his uncle, Muhammad Hashim Khan, with whom he is a great favourite. 1946, appointed minister at London. Appointed to be ambassador to the United States, May 1948.

Easy-going and pleasant mannered and friendly to British Embassy, but somewhat reserved, perhaps as a result of a tendency to deafness. Speaks French fluently and English tolerably. It was at one time believed that he was destined to succeed his uncle as Prime Minister, but it is doubtful if he has either the brains, physical fitness or strength of character for the task. Representative of Afghanistan at General Assembly of United Nations in New York, April 1949. Returned to Kabul for consultations, June 1949.

65. Muhammad Nauroz Khan (W.W. 470)

Mirza of Logar. Appointed Chief Secretary to King Nadir, November 1929. Was on bad terms with Muhammad Yakub (W.W. 675). More inclined to friendship with Germany than with England and Russia. Accompanied late S. Muhammad Azim to Europe in January 1933 for medical treatment. Returned from Germany May 1933 and resumed appointment of Chief Secretary to King. Was appointed officiating Court Minister in 1936. Appointed Ambassador, Tehran, in 1939. Relieved of appointment of Ambassador at Tehran in 1942. Appointed Minister of Interior 1943. May 1946, appointed Minister of Revenue but has since been nominated as Ambassador in Moscow, where he still is.

Has influence in the Logar valley. Loyalty to present régime doubtful. Entertains Republican

tendencies. Has ability and capacity and speaks a little English. During his term of office as Minister of the Interior became more influential and popular, the latter said to be due to his patience when investigating complaints. Also accredited to Sweden, August 1948.

66. Muhammad Qasim Khan (W.W. 506)

Muhammadzai. Son of Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan Kaka. Nephew of the late Sardar Abdul Aziz. First cousin of Ghulam Faruq. Born at Lahore about 1900. Served in various minor appointments in Afghan Foreign Office 1921-25. Was a secretary in the Afghan Legation, Rome, in 1926, and also served in a similar capacity in the Afghan Embassy, Tehran, during 1927 and 1928. In 1930 was mudir (assistant secretary) in the Prime Minister's office. Appointed officiating Hakim-i-Ala (Governor), Eastern Province, November 1932, where he found it difficult to get on with the General Officer Commanding, Daud Khan (L.P. 45). Appointed Minister in Rome in February 1934, and left to take up his appointment in March. Recalled in spring 1935 and in June again appointed Governor of the Eastern Province.

His father died January 1936.

Appointed Governor of Herat (1938). Appointed Governor of Kandahar 1941, of which post he was relieved in 1946. He is now in Kabul. Said to be efficient and capable but lacks presence and personality.

In spite of his reputation of being capable he seemed to take little interest in the provincial administration which was almost non-existent. He is said to have been very corrupt but to have stifled complaints by entertaining lavishly. Speaks English, Urdu, Persian and good Pashtu.

67. Muhammad Qasim Khan (W.W. 507a)

Muhammadzai. Born approximately 1904. Director of Intelligence in the War Ministry 1935. Chief of Staff, Guards Division, 1936. Officiating General Officer Commanding, Kataghan and Badakhshan Division, 1936. Promoted Firka Mishar 1937. Officiating General Officer Commanding, Guards Division, 1937-40. Appointed Governor and General Officer Commanding of the Southern Province in May 1944 at the time of Zadran disturbances. Transferred to Kabul as head of the Tribal Department, 1949. A tactful, popular and efficient officer who has pleasant manners, is intelligent and speaks little English. A staunch supporter of Shah Mahmud.

68. Muhammad Sadiq Khan (Mir)

Son of Mir Sikandar Khan. Born about 1893. His father was a Court official with the honorary rank of general in the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan and left Afghanistan during the Second Afghan War and lived first in Bagdad, where Muhammad Sadiq was born, and later in India, where the boy was educated. Mir Muhammad Sadiq returned to Afghanistan during the reign of ex-King Amanullah, and held minor appointments in the Educational and Agricultural Departments of the Southern Province and in Northern Afghanistan. During the reign of the late King Nadir Shah, he became First Secretary of the Afghan Embassy in Moscow, an appointment he held for three years. When he returned to Kabul, he was appointed Director-General of International Affairs in the Foreign Office. In March 1943 he was appointed Afghan Consul-General at Meshed. Returned to Kabul in June 1946 and was appointed "chef du protocole." He is patient and cautious; speaks English, Urdu and a little Russian; is reasonably well disposed towards the British.

69. Muhammad Sarwar Khan (W.W. 560)

Barakzai, Naib Salar (general). Son of Muhammad Sidiq Khan. Brothers Ghulam Haidar (W.W. 276), Muhammad Shuaib (W.W. 611) and Juma Khan. First secretary in the Afghan Embassy in Tehran. Formerly a Ghulam Bacha. Was highly esteemed by Ameer Habibullah Khan. Promoted brigadier in 1906, owing to his success in the manufacture of guns, and appointed superintendent, Kabul Arsenal. Promoted major-general 1918. In March 1919 appointed Naib Salar by Ameer Amanullah Khan, and later in the same month left for Mazar-i-Sharif to take up the appointment of Naib-ul-Hukumah (Governor), Turkestan. Granted both civil and military powers in his province. Relieved of appointment and proceeded to Kabul in January 1922, where he officiated as Minister of the Interior. Governor of Kandahar 1923, but the real power in the province was wielded by the Minister of the Interior, who, originally officiating as Governor of Kandahar, remained there on relief to deal with the disorders that were rife in the province during 1923. Muhammad Sarwar's jurisdiction seems to have been limited. Still Governor of Kandahar at the beginning of 1927. Described by the Ameer, during a visit of inspection to Kandahar, November 1925, as "honest and respectable, but slow and negligent." Summoned to Kabul June 1926, and well received by the King. Created Sardar-i-Ala November 1926. Appointed Governor of Badakhshan and Kataghan, 1928, but did not take up appointment. In Kandahar 1929. Appointed Governor of Kabul, February 1930, but relieved in 1931 and went on pilgrimage to Mecca. Returned via Meshed and Kandahar. Appointed a member of the Majlis-i-Aiyan (Council of Nobles) December 1931. Reported to be pro-Amanullah. Visited his brother Ghulam Haidar (W.W. 276) at Maruf, Kandahar Province, in February 1932, but was recalled to Kabul in July. Has been unemployed since 1931. Still believed to be pro-Amanullah. Courteous and friendly, but Amanullah's description (above) fits him. Still a member of the Council of Nobles.

70. Muhammad Shafi Khan (W.W. 569)

Sultan Muhammad Khel. Born approximately 1900. Son of Muhammad Isa Khan. A relative of S. Faiz Muhammad Khan. Was a Mudir in the Afghan Foreign Office 1934-35. Appointed Afghan Consul, Karachi, 1935. Afghan Consul-General in India vice Salah-ud-Din (No. 70) 1939. Returned to Kabul June 1946. A pleasant official who speaks English and is always friendly towards the British Embassy. Believed to be loyal to the present régime. Appointed, 1948, head of the Conference Section of the Department of International Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

71. Muhammad Shuaib Khan (W.W. 611)

Born approximately 1904. Younger brother of Muhammad Sarwar Khan and of Ghulam Haidar (W.W. 276). Appointed Yawar to the Governor of Kandahar and Mudir of Agriculture 1934. The Amir dismissed him during a visit of inspection to Kandahar, October 1925. Employed as third assistant to the Minister of Court in 1931. Resigned in August 1932 and became Kandahar manager to Chandan Khan, agent for Burma Shell Oil Company in Afghanistan. Agent for the Shirkat in Kandahar for importing Japanese goods. Appointed Afghan Consul at Karachi 1940. Said to be incompetent and lazy. Now in Afghan Embassy in Washington.

72. Muhammad Umar Khan (W.W. 652)

Firka Mishar (major-general). Yusufzai of the "Topehi" family. Born 1898. Appointed Chief of

Staff 1924. Visited Delhi manoeuvres December 1924 at the invitation of the commander-in-chief in India. Appointed head of Afghan Military Mission to Russia to select artillery for the Afghan army and study Soviet military methods October 1926. Left Kabul by air for Termez en route to Moscow the 3rd November, 1926. Visited Russia and Italy 1928. Was at one time military attaché in Berlin. Appointed chief of Afghan General Staff early in 1930. In 1932 proceeded to Europe to attend the Disarmament Conference, Geneva. Visited Paris December 1933. Returned to Kabul via India in January 1934; was a spectator of the 1st January parade at Peshawar. Lunched with the officers of the Gordon Highlanders in the Khyber on his way back. Resumed his duties as Chief of Staff, but left once more for Geneva in May 1934. Afghan representative to the League of Nations Disarmament Committee June 1935. Recalled to Kabul (1936). Chief of Staff till June 1946 when he was appointed Chief Private Secretary to the King—a post which carries Cabinet rank.

A keen and intelligent officer, but said to have had little experience in the field or handling troops. Has been much in Europe and speaks English, Russian and German fluently. Is also said to speak French and Italian. Since his reappointment as Chief of General Staff in 1936 his influence has increased in both the Royal Family and army circles. During the early part of the Second World War he was strictly nationalist and neutral in his attitude, but towards the end of 1944 he began to show a distrust of Russia and a decided leaning towards Great Britain and America. He proceeded to India at the head of an Afghan military mission in 1945. What he saw there convinced him of the desirability of securing the help of India, Great Britain or America in the supply of war material to Afghanistan and in training matters. He has the complete confidence of King Zahir Shah and the Afghan Government. He was the sole agent for the placing of large orders for the supply of war material from India and for arranging for the despatch of Afghan officers to India for training. Appointed Chief Secretary to King Zahir Shah in 1946 and Minister of Defence in July 1948. Shrewd and sensible but likely to be very much under the influence of the Prime Minister.

73. Muhammad Usman Khan (W.W. 661)

Served as Afghan Consul in Bombay in 1927 and as consul-general, India, in 1928. In Kabul 1929. Counsellor to Afghan Embassy, Tehran, in 1930. Appointed Muin II in the Foreign Ministry in 1931. Was a member of the Musabad Perso-Afghan Commission 1934-35. Pensioned and unemployed 1935. Member of the Republican Party. Was suspected of complicity in Afridi Amanish plot in 1939. President of the Municipal Committee, Kabul, since 1937. Relieved of this post, July 1942, for alleged malpractice in the distribution of food supplies to the public. 1944, took up directorship of several public trading concerns. Appointed Under-Secretary of State (Muin I) at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1946 and minister at Rome in May 1948.

A capable man, with pleasant manners, who is somewhat disgruntled because he has not been given more important appointments. Believed to be addicted to drink; and to be showing signs of disloyalty to the Yahya Khel. Speaks a few words of English but no other foreign language.

74. Mohammed Yunus Khan, Mohammedzai

Director of stonework and joinery company. Appointed Governor-General of Kandahar province 1947. He is a rich Mohammedzai and said to be popular though without much administrative

experience. He is a relative of Shah Mahmud Khan, the Prime Minister.

75. Muhammad Yunas Khan (W.W. 685)

Comes from Jalalabad and is of Pathan stock. Secretary of Afghan Legation, London, from 1922-30. Always showed himself helpful and well disposed and was profuse with pro-British sentiments, which were probably sincere. Chargé d'Affaires from February 1929 to January 1930. Energetically opposed Shuja-ud-Daulah's (W.W. 612) attempts to dispose of Legation property July-September 1929. Left London for United States on Shah Wali's arrival as Minister in January 1930 owing to dis-appointment of non-recognition of his work and refusal of Shah Wali to appoint him counsellor. Reported to be in touch with Ghadr party in San Francisco. In June 1933 tried to obtain the assistance of British Foreign Office to return to Afghanistan. Believed to be (1936) in United States. Founded and became Director of the Afghan National Association in the United States.

76. Najibullah Khan (Tourvayana) (W.W. 465a)

Born approximately 1906. Related to the late Amir Abdur Rahman through his mother. Educated at the French School, Kabul. Director-General of the Political Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs until his appointment in May 1946 as acting Minister of Education.

Speaks French fluently and is now able also to converse intelligently in English. Has considerable ability and influence. Ambitious and somewhat conceited, but unfailingly courteous. Had the reputation of being strongly anti-British, but, largely as a result of the kindness and courtesy shown to him on his visit to India in April 1944, is now extremely well disposed towards us. He could be more fairly described as a strong Nationalist. Dabbles in cultural matters and is a keen student of literature. If the present régime remains in power is likely to become a most important personage. A leader of the pro-Pathanistan Party, he was sent to Karachi to conduct negotiations with the Pakistan Government early in 1948 but failed to reach agreement. His optimistic reports and attitude on his return merely exacerbated the situation. Represented Afghanistan at Delhi meeting on Indonesia in 1949. Appointed ambassador to India, January 1949.

77. Obeidullah Khan (W.W. 492)

Son of Ameer Habibullah Khan by the Ulya Hazrat; younger brother of ex-King Amanullah. Born 1915. Called Shah Agha. Carefully looked after by the Ulya Hazrat, who employed a German tutor for him. Sent by Amanullah to Kandahar December 1928 with his family. Accompanied Amanullah to Bombay May 1929. Sailed for Italy with Amanullah June 1929. In Berlin with his mother 1930. Still in Berlin, living at the Afghan Legation November 1932. With Amanullah in Rome in December 1933. In October 1935 was living with his mother (W.W. 646) in Ghulam Siddiq's villa in Berlin. Deprived of Afghan nationality November 1933.

78. Rahimullah Khan (W.W. 518)

Tajik. Son of Ataulah. Native of Kabul. Was head clerk in the Russian section of the Foreign Ministry. Became Foreign Agent in Mazar. Afterwards transferred to Moscow as secretary to the Afghan Legation, and later on in the same capacity to Berlin. Appointed assistant in charge Visa Section, Afghan Foreign Office, December 1930. Relieved July 1931. In July 1932 transferred to the Home Ministry as Director, Posts and Telegraphs. Appointment raised to a Ministry in June 1935.

His father died in 1936. Appointed Minister of Mines November 1939. Relieved of appointment of Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in 1940, and appointed Minister of Public Works in addition to Minister of Mines, but this is probably due to the help he obtained from German engineers up to 1941, in developing communications, &c. Relieved of the appointment of Minister for Public Works in May 1944 owing to ill-health, but retained portfolio of the Ministry of Mines, until May 1946. Appointed Afghan Ambassador in Teheran 1948.

Originally efficient, became later slack and indifferent in carrying out his duties. Has always been friendly to the British Legation, though at one time he was thought to have had pro-German sympathies.

79. Rahmatullah Jan (W.W. 519)

Muhammadzai. Eldest son of ex-King Amanullah and Queen Souriya. Born 1922. Proceeded to Europe with King 1928. Declared heir apparent 1928. Accompanied Amanullah to Chaman and Bombay the 23rd May, 1929. Sailed for Italy with ex-King the 22nd June, 1929. Was still with Amanullah in Italy 1931, and is believed to be there now (1943).

Deprived of Afghan nationality in November 1933.

80. Rishtiya, Saiyid Qasim Khan

Born in Kabul in 1915. Educated at the Habibia and Istiqlal Colleges. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1931. Transferred to the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs 1932. Appointed to the Afghan Academy on its establishment in 1937. Returned to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Press Department) 1939. Appointed acting chief of this department with Cabinet rank 1948. Rishtiya has produced numerous translations and articles for publication in the official press. He is a clever, friendly young man though something of a xenophobe and a leading proponent of the idea of Pathanistan. Under his guidance the press has become considerably freer and more outspoken chiefly, unfortunately, in condemnation of Pakistan.

81. Saiyid Qasim (W.W. 548)

Son of Ahmad Shah Khan, Saiyid of Kabul. Proceeded to Peshawar through the Khyber, December 1921, on his way to London as messenger from the Foreign Office. Married the third daughter of the late Mahmud Beg Tarzi. Member of the Afghan Legation in London 1924. Acted as Chargé d'Affaires in 1924 between departure of Abdul Hadi and arrival of Shuja-ud-Daulah (W.W. 612). Returned to Kabul May 1925, and appointed Under-Secretary in charge of Russia and Turkestan branch of Foreign Office to succeed Hafizullah (W.W. 327) February 1926. Appointed Afghan Consul-General, Delhi, October 1926, vice Haji Muhammad Akbar (W.W. 153) and left Kabul for Delhi, the 20th November, 1926. Awarded Order of Astor, January 1927. Appointed Afghan Minister in Rome, 1928. Returned to India and left for Constantinople, June 1929. Said to be working as a translator in the Foreign Office, Kabul, the 7th January, 1930. In December 1933 was believed to be with Amanullah in Rome. Speaks excellent English, well educated. Used to be friendly to members of British Legation, Kabul. His sister is the wife of W.W. 686a.

82. Salah-ud-Din Khan (Saljuki) (W.W. 553)

Born about 1893. Son of Mufti Siraj-ud-Din of Herat; native of Herat.

Used to be the editor of *Ittihad-i-Islam*. Shuja-ud-Daulah (W.W. 612) brought him to Kabul and gave him the editorship of the paper *Tijarat (Commerce)*. Afterwards became personal diarist to

Amanullah. Appointed consul in Bombay 1930. In March 1933 acted as consul, Jeddah, in addition to his Bombay duties. Appointed Consul-General in India August 1933. Visited Dera Ismail Khan and Peshawar during the autumn of 1933, spreading pro-Nadir propaganda amongst the Ghilzais. His father, Mufti Siraj-ud-Din, left Delhi for Herat in February 1934. Maintained one Nur Ahmad Khan in Lahore as propaganda and publicity agent. Took care to maintain his contact and popularity with editors and proprietors of Indian vernacular papers. In 1939 returned to Afghanistan. Appointed Controller of Broadcasting and Propaganda November 1939. Appointed Director of Press and Publicity in 1940, which post he held until 1948. In April 1948 appointed counsellor to the Afghan Embassy at Karachi with the local rank of minister. Has at various times stated that, when consul and consul-general in India, he was neglected socially by British officials at Simla, Delhi and Bombay. Is believed to have attempted to introduce news on the Kabul Radio and in the press with an anti-British tone, but the strict censorship maintained by the Afghan Government prevented publication on most occasions.

Is a philosopher and poet. Speaks English intelligibly but not very well. Was once reported to be pro-Russian and pro-Republican, but appears to be trusted by Afghan Government. Has the reputation of entertaining anti-British sentiments. Is an ardent advocate of the Pathanistan idea. Returned from Karachi at the beginning of 1949 but held no post until he was elected to the 7th National Council in April as representative of Herat.

83. H.R.H. Shah Mahmud (Mahmud Jan) (W.W. 414)

Sardar Muhammadzai. Born 1894. Youngest son of Muhammad Yusuf and uncle of King Zahir Shah. Half-brother of L.P. 58 and brother of L.P. 84. Appointed Sar Sar-i-Os, ranking as general, in 1917. Commanded the troops on the Peiwar front 1919. Was in great favour with the Ameer for never having suffered a defeat (he was never attacked). Appointed Civil and Military Governor of the Simat-i-Janubi (Southern Provinces) September 1919. In Khost February 1920. Arrived in Kabul from Gardez December 1920. Was married in Kabul during the same month to a step-sister of the Ameer. Returned to Gardez soon after. Shah Mahmud was in touch with Muhammad Hasan, B.A., at Makin and Haji Abdur Bazaq at Shakin in 1920 and early 1921, and undoubtedly supplied them with frequent convoys of ammunition, rations and money for distribution to the hostile sections of the Wana Wazirs and Mahsuds. Arrived in Kabul in October 1921, accompanied by his family. General Officer Commanding Badakhshan and Kataghan, from 1922 to 1925. Appointed Governor of Eastern Provinces April 1926. Interviewed Afridis at Jalalabad April 1926, and promised them similar treatment to that given by his brother, Nadir Khan. Toured Jalalabad Province and interviewed Afridis at Morgha July 1926. Visited Kabul to discuss Mohmand unrest with King November 1926. Interviewed Mohmands at Jalalabad January 1927; visited Pesh Bolak and distributed money amongst Shinwaris. Transferred from Jalalabad to Kabul February 1928. Appointed second secretary in the Ministry of Interior March 1928. In Kabul February 1929. Commissioned by Bacha-i-Saqao to go as his emissary to the tribes of the Eastern and Southern Provinces. Joined Nadir Khan on his arrival in Khost March 1929. Assisted Nadir Khan in his campaign against Bacha-i-Saqao. Appointed War Minister by Nadir Shah November 1929. Left Kabul for Northern Provinces and in January 1931 was appointed Rais-i-Tanzimieh

(Supreme Civil and Military Administrator) of Northern Afghanistan. Succeeded in driving Ibrahim Beg across the Russian frontier and pacified the country sufficiently for him to be able to return to Kabul in August 1931. Awarded the Almar-i-Ala September 1931 and appointed a member of the Majlis-i-Aiyan (Council of Nobles). He suffered from goitre and hoped to take a cure for it in Germany in the autumn of 1932, but his visit to Europe was postponed owing to the Dare Khel outbreak in November 1932, during which he commanded a force of about two divisions in addition to tribal levies. His success in this affair was perhaps due as much to money as to fighting. Up to December 1932 he was still engaged in settling affairs in the Southern Province and handing over control to Nasrullah (W.W. 469a), the new Governor. Spent the spring and summer of 1933 in the Southern Province, visiting Kabul on one occasion. On Nadir Shah's murder displayed great presence of mind dealing with the situation in Kabul. Proclaimed Zahir Shah King and swore allegiance to him. Appointed Commander-in-chief and Minister of War. In addition to his military duties, was in charge of the Southern Province.

Betrothed his two daughters to the two sons of the late Hayatullah, brother of ex-King Amanullah, December 1935. Sons were born to him in 1922, 1924, 1932, 1936 and 1939. Left for Europe March 1936 for medical treatment and has since been successfully operated upon for goitre in Berlin. Visited England, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Turkey and Iran. Returned to Kabul December 1936. Developed heart trouble in 1943 and was unable to carry out his duties for some time, but his health is said to be improving. Was in Gardez from April to June 1944, where he succeeded in isolating Mazarak (W.W. 423) and obtained support for the Government of the majority of the tribal leaders. Succeeded his half-brother (L.P. 58) as Prime Minister in May 1946, retaining position as commander-in-chief. Visited the United States and United Kingdom in 1947. Paid a successful visit to the northern provinces in January and February 1949 where he initiated various agricultural measures, including the resumption of the cultivation of sugar beet, and ordered the preparation of plans for a number of public works.

Is popular with the army and throughout the country, especially with the tribes. An opportunist rather than a man with a consistent policy and has proved a poor administrator, given to favouritism and susceptible to flattery. Consequently gives the appearance of packing his Administration with nonentities and "yes-men," while able members of the Royal family are being exiled to missions abroad. Is inclined to be vain but has good manners, and considerable charm. Friendly to the British Embassy. Fond of games but a bad loser.

84. H.R.H. Shah Wali Khan (W.W. 585)

Sardar, Muhammadzai. Born 1885. Son of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and brother of the late King Nadir Shah. Brother of L.P. 89 and half-brother of L.P. 58. Was Rikab Bashi (equerry) to Ameer Habibullah. Accompanied him to India in 1907. After the Ameer's murder in February 1919 was arrested and sent to Kabul, but was acquitted and released. Commanded troops on Kharlachi front July-October 1919. Promoted general for good services on the Tochi border. Married a sister of ex-King Amanullah in May 1920. Appointed to command 1st Division in Kabul April 1921. Was on intimate terms with ex-King Amanullah and seemed to be his greatest personal friend. Was one of the delegates at the British-Afghan Conference in Kabul 1921. Commanded 1st Cavalry Corps December 1921. Appointed to command the Kabul

Corps 1923. Appointed Yawar Hazuri (equerry to the King) December 1924. Visited India in May 1925 and again in December 1925, when he persuaded Muhammad Umar (W.W. 648) to return to Afghanistan from Hyderabad. Commanded troops Logar during the Mangal rebellion 1924-25, and for his services was created "Taj-i-Afghan." Left Kabul for Paris September 1926, accompanying Afghan students returning from vacation. Was with his brother Nadir Khan at Grasse. Left Marseilles with Nadir Khan and Hashim Khan February 1929, and proceeded with Nadir Khan to Khost March 1929. Captured Kabul the 13th October, 1929. Appointed Regent October 1929. Appointed Minister at London November 1929. Reached England the 10th January, 1930. Transferred to Paris June 1931. Came to Kabul on leave September 1932, bringing with him, under safe conduct, the late Ghulam Nabi. Returned to Paris and resumed his appointment February 1933. Returned to Kabul February 1935, and appointed Acting Minister of Defence during absence of Shah Mahmud in Europe. His wife refused to accompany him and remained in Paris. Objected to the monopoly system of the Ashami Company. Acting Prime Minister in the absence of Hashim Khan in Europe (1936). Left Kabul in March 1937 to resume his appointment of Minister at Paris. Represented King Zahir Shah at the Coronation of King George VI.

Visited Kabul March 1939, and returned to Paris June 1939. Left Vichy for Switzerland in August 1944. Returned to Paris early in 1945 on reappointment as Afghan Minister to France. In 1945 his eldest son Ahmed Wali returned to Afghanistan and married, in February 1946 the daughter of Shah Mahmud. His second and third sons went to England in 1945, Abdul Wali for attachment to the Brigade of Guards, and Wali Shah to go to Harrow. Returned to Afghanistan in 1947, when he was Acting Prime Minister until Shah Mahmud's return from his visit to the United States and United Kingdom. Appointed ambassador to Pakistan in April 1948. Has been unable to do much to improve Afghan-Pakistan relations—rather the reverse—and in June 1948 left for France to visit and bring back his wife. Returned to his post later in the year but in February 1949 came back to Kabul for consultations in connexion with the Pathanistan campaign. At the height of the campaign showed a complete inability to listen to reason but has since recovered some of his equilibrium.

Able and quick witted he is a pleasant and friendly person.

Sher Agha (see Fazal-i-Umar)

85. Siddiq Agha Muhammad (Gul Agha) (W.W. 613)

Son of Qaiyum Jan Agha, the Hazrat Sahib of Shor Bazar (W.W. 347), and half-brother of Fazl-i-Umar (Sher Agha). On the death of Qaiyum Jan Agha the title was assumed by the eldest son, Sher Agha. On the latter's death in June 1925 the title was assumed by Muhammad Siddiq Agha, in the absence of his half-brother, Sher Agha, then a political refugee in India. Was arrested, with Rasool Jan Agha (W.W. 522), for trying to stir up trouble in Khost, September 1928. Later released and in February 1929 was reported to have accepted Bacha-i-Saqao's rule. In June 1929 was placed under surveillance in Kabul on account of his intrigues with Sher Agha in the Southern Province. Confined in the Arq, June 1929. Released, and joined Nadir Khan on his entry into Kabul, October 1929. Appointed Minister to Egypt, and passed through Peshawar, en route, February 1931. Proceeded to Mecca, April, 1931, to watch Amanullah. In July 1932 visited Kabul on leave, and was received

in a friendly manner by the King and the Prime Minister. Sher Agha was reported to be trying to persuade him to resign, but he returned to Egypt in September 1932. Visited Mecca for the Haj 1933. Appointed Minister, Hejaz, in addition to duties as Minister, Egypt, April 1935. Visited Mecca during pilgrimage (1935), but evinced no sympathy for Amanullah. Reappointed (1939), in addition, Minister to Egypt. Visited Kabul in July 1942. Returned to Cairo in 1942. Expressed anti-British views in connexion with the war situation and British attitude towards Egypt in 1942. Still Minister in Cairo. Visited Afghanistan in 1948.

86. Sultan Ahmad Khan (W.W. 624)

Son of Colonel Sher Ahmad Khan (W.W. 600). Assistant to Mirza Muhammad Khan (W.W. 450). Ambassador at Moscow, August 1920. Head of the Afghan mission to Angora 1921. Arrived in Baku, March 1921. Arrived in Angora in April. Addressed a large crowd, including many prominent Turkish Nationalist Deputies, at the mosque of Namazie, Angora, in August 1921. The subject of the address was the necessity for unity through the whole Moslem world, in order that the encroachments and intrigues of European Powers might be successfully resisted. Prayers were offered for the victory of the Turkish arms, and Sultan Ahmad Khan gave a donation of 2,000 liras to the Red Crescent. The Bolshevik Envoy in Kabul, Raskolnikov, instructed his Government early in September 1921, at the request of the Afghan Government, to provide Sultan Ahmad Khan with 40,000 roubles in gold, payment to be adjusted in Kabul. Returned to Kabul, April 1926, and was appointed third secretary in Foreign Office. Officiated as first secretary during absence of Mirza Muhammad Khan (W.W. 450) on Urta Tagai Boundary Commission. Appointed second secretary, Foreign Office, June 1926, and first secretary, October 1926. Granted title of "Sardar-i-Ala" February 1927. Appointed Ambassador at Tehran, October 1928. Relieved November 1929 and returned to Kabul. Appointed to be in charge of State guests Kabul, January 1930. Went to Turkey as Ambassador, vice the late Ghulam Nabi, in December 1930. Took with him as secretary Faiz Muhammad Khan. Suspected of pro-Amanullah tendencies. Was on intimate terms with the late Ghulam Nabi during his visit to Constantinople in December 1931. Visited Europe in 1933, and, as Afghan representative, concluded a Treaty of Friendship with Brazil through their Embassy 1933. Appointed as an Afghan delegate to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva in 1933. Visited Kabul, August 1935. Represented King of Afghanistan at the funeral of King George V, January 1936. Visited Afghanistan April 1937 and returned to Angora June 1937. Appointed Ambassador at Moscow (1938). During 1941-42 stated to have shown some concern for his personal safety, and to have given depressing accounts of Russian ability to resist the Germans. Visited Kabul in 1945 and returned with great reluctance. May 1946 appointed Minister of Health. President of National Council 1947-49. Now unemployed.

87. Tura Baz Khan Safi of Chardeh (W.W. 641)

Born about 1890. 1922 commanded Afridi battalion. 1923-25 and March to May 1926 Sarhaddar of Dakka. Represented the Afghan Government in December 1923 in consultations with Indian Government concerning Ajib Khan, outlaw. Promoted Ghund Mishar (colonel) 1930. April 1931 appointed commandant of police in Kabul. 1938 appointed member of the Prisons Committee. 1939 promoted Firqa Mishar II (major-general). 1939 August appointed Hakimi Ala (Governor) Eastern Province. 1941 promoted Firqa Mishar I (lieut.-

general) and posted to Kabul as Raisi Amnia (Administrative commandant). Appears to be active and capable but is said to take bribes. Complaints were made against him while he was Commandant of Police, Kabul, for his high-handedness. Does not speak any European language. Is a favourite of the Prime Minister, H.R.H. Shah Mahmud Khan and is thought to be a likely future Governor.

88. Ulya Hazrat (W.W. 646)

Siraj-ul-Khawatin (Her Majesty the Sun of the Ladies). Step-sister of Luinab Khushdil Khan, daughter of the late Luinab Sherdil Khan, and step-daughter of Ishaq Aghassi Muhammad Sarwar Khan. Her name is Sarwar Sultan. Chief wife of Ameer Habibullah and mother of ex-King Amanullah Khan. In 1915 said to be strongly in favour of neutrality. Very strong character and dabbled in politics. Said to have refused to help Turco-German mission in 1916. In 1917 and 1918 had numerous quarrels with Ameer Habibullah owing to her interference in political matters, and was eventually said to have been expelled from the Arq. After the murder of Habibullah, left for Kabul to negotiate with her son, Amanullah. Is believed by many to have been, with Amanullah, the organiser of the plot which resulted in the murder of Habibullah. Was said to have been of Tarzi's party, and in favour of a treaty of friendship with the British. Has one other son, Obeidullah, known as Shah Agha (L.P. 77), born 1915. Left for Kandahar with Queen Souriya, December 1928, and proceeded with energy to raise support for the Durrani Dynasty. Was not on good terms with Queen Souriya. Accompanied Amanullah to Bombay, May 1929. Sailed for Italy with Amanullah, June 1929. In Berlin 1930 intriguing against Nadir Khan in favour of Obeidullah. Remained in Europe 1929-35, mostly at Amanullah's residence at Rome, but occasionally visited Montreux in Switzerland, and Berlin. Deprived of Afghan nationality in November 1933. Visited Mecca with ex-King Amanullah for 1935 pilgrimage.

In October 1935 was living with Obeidullah Khan in Ghulam Siddiq's villa in Berlin.

Still, so far as is known, in Europe.

89. Yakub Khan (W.W. 675)

Mohmand. Son of Muhammad Yusuf Khan and brother of Agha Sami (W.W. 555). Born 1889. Was page to Ameer Habibullah. Numerous favours were conferred on him by Amanullah. Appointed a Musahib-i-Khas (Privy Councillor) in 1920, and Shaghassi Huzuri 1927. Created Sardar-i-Ala, January 1927, and appointed Minister of Court. Accompanied Amanullah to Europe 1927-28. Accompanied Amanullah to Kandahar, January 1929, and to Bombay, May 1929. Left Bombay, June 1929, for Duzdap. Arrived Meshed, August 1929. Returned to Kabul 1929. Ordered to be deported for complicity in the Koh-i-Daman revolt 1930, but was detained in Jalalabad and later released. Said to be propagating in favour of Amanullah. Went to Mecca on pilgrimage, April 1931. Arrived at Tehran with his brother W.W. 555, December 1931. Has a son, Musi Jan, born in 1916, and a daughter, who joined him in Tehran in 1933. Probably still in Persia, May 1935. His property in Afghanistan was confiscated in 1933. Deprived of Afghan nationality in November 1933. Family deported from Kabul to Tehran, August 1935.

90. Zulfiqar Khan, Muhammad (W.W. 697)

Muhammadzai. Of no important family. Educated at Habibia College, Kabul. Went to France with Afghan students to look after them, and became guardian to Hidayatullah Khan (W.W. 348), son of Amanullah Khan. Was recalled to Kabul by Amanullah, and for some time was unemployed. During the revolution joined Hashim Khan in the Eastern Province and became his private secretary. Went to Parachinar where he joined Nadir Khan and Shah Wali. Counsellor to the Afghan Legation in London 1931. Left London for Paris, with Shah Wali, in June 1931. Returned to Kabul, September 1931, and was appointed assistant to the Prime Minister. Visited Lahore in January and returned to Kabul, April 1936.

Appointed Minister at Tokyo, 1939. Returned to Kabul, June 1946, and employed in Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Appointed Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary in 1948.

A talkative little man who speaks English fluently and is very friendly towards the members of the British Legation.

Obituary

(Numbers are those of the 1948 list)
80. Shuja-ud-Daulah.

F 12251/1061/97

No. 13

AFGHAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th August)

(No. 93. Confidential) *Kabul,*
Sir, *6th August, 1949.*

Kabul to-day is so full of rumours that it is difficult to appraise the situation with any confidence, and any account of what has been, and is, happening in the inner councils of the Afghan Government can at best be only a matter of conjecture. It is, however, becoming more and more clear

that the recent parliamentary statement giving His Majesty's Government's view of Pakistan's position and rights in the frontier, and your own talks with the Afghan Ambassador in London, have had far more serious repercussions than I, at least, had anticipated. I had realised that Mr. Noel-Baker's statement would be unpopular in Kabul (my telegram No. 162 of

25th June), but it had been my hope that a clear statement of His Majesty's Government's position in this matter might, while directing Afghan resentment principally against Great Britain, make a settlement with Pakistan correspondingly easier. I had not realised how strong that resentment would be, nor can I at the moment estimate the consequences. It now appears that His Majesty's Government's earlier unwillingness to give any expression of opinion, or to take sides in the dispute, had led the Afghan Government to think that we were inclined to think that their case was good. They may even have thought, though this is only conjecture on my part, that arguments that I may have used, being of necessity given as my personal opinion only and not the considered views of my Government, were designed to persuade them to be more accommodating towards Pakistan than the situation demanded. But whatever the reasons, Afghan disillusion is at the moment profound.

2. It is clear that the conclusion reached in the earlier discussions with the Sardars Daud and Naim Khan had been that a delegation consisting of themselves and the Foreign Minister in person should proceed to London and other places in order to enlist more open support for what they considered to be Afghanistan's most reasonable claims. The clear announcement of His Majesty's Government's views on the matter blasted all their hopes. Rumours have begun to circulate of serious differences in the Cabinet and of the Prime Minister's probable resignation. The Afghans admit that when their tempers are roused they find it impossible to think clearly and are liable to take rash and ill-considered action. Their Cabinet discussions must have been heated and acrimonious. There seems to be increasing resentment against the Prime Minister's inept handling of the situation and his obstinacy in refusing to take any step that may impair his personal popularity. It is abundantly clear that he has not the brains for the post of Premier. It is suggested that he will shortly be replaced by either Naim Khan or by the Foreign Minister, Ali Mohammed Khan. At the moment these are nothing more than palace rumours. All that has been decided is that there will be serious discussions covering the whole range of Afghan policy as soon as Abdul Majid Khan, Minister of National Economy, now in Herat on his way back from Washington, and Sardar Faiz

Mohammed, the only two Afghans of importance other than the ex-Prime Minister who are not already in Kabul, have arrived. Important developments may therefore be expected in the course of the next two or three weeks.

3. During the past week I have had talks with both the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Sardar Naim Khan, whom I regard as the ablest and most reasonable of the Afghan hierarchy after Ali Mohammed himself. It is clear that the Moghulgai incident is regarded as settled, but that Pakistan's tardy admission of responsibility has not resulted in any increase of goodwill, and that the situation regarding the main issue is mainly unchanged. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar's visit achieved very little except a slight lowering of the temperature. What claims or proposals exactly the Afghan Government will now put forward it is impossible to say. The present idea is that no solution of the problem satisfactory to Afghan opinion can be found other than the creation of Pushtunistan as a separate dominion of the British Commonwealth, and that this should be decided by a plebiscite of all the people concerned. This idea was retailed to me in all seriousness and at some length in an informal talk by Naim Khan, who argued that such a state would, in population, be no smaller than Transjordan or Israel, that its economic needs should be considered quite separately from those of strategic defence, that the former could be met from its own resources and that the latter would, of course, be provided by other members of the Commonwealth, perhaps with Afghan co-operation. I endeavoured to convince him of the absurdity of any such plan, and said that in my opinion any Afghan proposal must be judged by two standards: "Do the people concerned want it?" and "Is it practicable?" I added that the main trouble with all the Afghan proposals was that we could not find the least evidence that there was any spontaneous desire on the part of the people, whose interests the Afghan Government desired to champion, for any of the changes that the Afghans wished to suggest; and that in my view his present proposal was as reasonable as would be a demand by France that there should be an immediate plebiscite in London and the southern counties of England to decide whether they wished to remain as they are at present, an integral part of England, or whether they would

like to form themselves into a separate State. He was rebuffed but not convinced.

4. I had previously been asked by Ali Mohammed and by Colonel Shah, with whom I had discussed the matter when he was in Kabul recently, whether I could suggest any formula which might be acceptable to both sides for the settlement of this dispute. I had urged the Afghans on more than one occasion to go back to the Karachi discussions and use them as a basis for agreement, and to agree to leave unsettled the exact extent to which the North-West Frontier Province is, or is not, an integral part of Pakistan. In response to their requests I had noted down certain points that I personally considered might form the basis of a settlement. I showed this note to Ali Mohammed recently, but unfortunately he seemed to think that the time was now past for any settlement on these lines. I therefore did not pursue the matter. Nevertheless, I left the note with him at his request, emphasising that it was in no way an official document and that, even if Afghanistan were prepared to reopen talks with Pakistan on such a basis, I had no authority for thinking that Pakistan would necessarily agree. I enclose a copy of this note for your information. It seems to me that there could be no harm in my giving this purely personal opinion in the hope, apparently quite illusory, that it might restrain the Afghan Government from putting forward ridiculous and irresponsible proposals of their own.

5. There is naturally much speculation as to the conclusions which the Afghan Government will reach in the course of the next few weeks. There is no question of them taking open aggressive action against Pakistan. They know that this is impossible, and reservists recently called up as a precaution against Mohammed Amin are already being sent home again. Afghan efforts to arouse hostility towards Pakistan among the tribes themselves have, as far as can be judged, failed signally. There now seem to be four alternatives:—

- (1) A real effort to come to terms with Pakistan on the lines that I have suggested;
- (2) an appeal to some international body such as the United Nations;
- (3) a continuance of the present war of abuse; and
- (4) an approach for assistance to Russia.

I do not think that the last alternative is likely, though, given the instability of the

Afghan temperament, it is impossible to dogmatise on such a point. On the whole, I consider that the third alternative is the most probable.

6. I much fear, however, that the resentment against His Majesty's Government, to which I have referred to earlier in this despatch, is so bitter that, although my personal friends in the Afghan Government will still wish to discuss the question with me, or rather to air their views in front of me, the Afghans will now be far less anxious than before to ask for His Majesty's Government's intervention, and far less ready to set any store by our warnings and advice. In this connexion I regard it as most unfortunate that this moment should have been selected for announcing that the British Embassy itself will probably be shortly handed over to India or Pakistan. It will, of course, be impossible to prevent this decision from becoming common knowledge in the very near future (India will no doubt give it the maximum publicity), and the knowledge will, I fear, destroy the last vestige of British influence in Afghanistan.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives in Washington, Angora, Moscow and Tehran, and to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in Karachi and New Delhi.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

Enclosure in No. 13

The Government of Pakistan, by virtue of the agreements which have been voluntarily renewed with themselves by the independent tribes of the frontier, consider that they have acquired exactly the same rights and obligations as the former British Government. As explained by Qaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah in 1947, the Pakistan Government have no intention of interfering with the ancient independence of the frontier tribes and have given proof of this by their withdrawal of the military garrisons formerly retained in these areas by the British Government. So long as the tribes remain peaceful and well behaved, the Pakistan Government have no intention of introducing any changes in these areas, other than any measures to increase the well-being and prosperity of the tribesmen for which the tribes themselves may ask.

2. Although in the opinion of the Pakistan Government the Durand Line is

and remains the frontier between Afghanistan and Pakistan, yet in recognition of the interest that the Royal Afghan Government naturally take in their brothers of the tribal territories, the Pakistan Government gladly give the above assurances to the Royal Afghan Government.

3. As regards the so-called administered areas, which are at present under the control of the duly elected Government of the North-West Frontier Province, it is the intention of the Pakistan Government that

these should enjoy the fullest possible freedom in the Pakistan State and should have the same rights of self-government as those enjoyed by the other provinces of Pakistan under the new constitution that is now to be drawn up. Similarly, the Pakistan Government will have no objection to the adoption by the province of the name of Pushtunistan or any other name which the people of the province may themselves select and which may be approved by the Constituent Assembly.

F 12977/1019/97

No. 14

CONDITIONS IN THE HAZARAJAT

Tour of Central Afghanistan by His Majesty's Ambassador

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 30th August)

(No. 94. Confidential) *Kabul,*
Sir, 18th August, 1949.

I have the honour to report on a brief expedition which I made last week into the Hazarajat, the vast and largely blank area that fills the centre of the map of Afghanistan. It had long been my ambition to visit this little known part of the country, but lack of opportunity and, more particularly, the lack of a vehicle suitable for the mountainous roads, prevented this. The arrival recently of a new Humber station wagon for the embassy provided the ideal form of transport for the trip.

2. The administrative division of the Hazarajat is a part of the Kabul Province and consists of the Governorate of Dai Zangi under which, in addition to the headquarters district, are the sub-governorates of Besud, Ujaristan, Dai Kundi, Sari-jangal and Yakaulang. Other districts, inhabited entirely or mainly by Hazaras, are attached to other divisions of the Kabul Province or to Kandahar, Herat, &c.

3. The Hazaras are believed to be the descendants of Mongols, left behind in the Mongolian invasions of India in the same way as Alexander the Great left Greek officers behind him on his earlier conquests. They are Shias by religion and, until the end of the nineteenth century, maintained a fierce independence in their almost inaccessible country. Amir Abdur Rahman, however, accused them of treachery and of raids on Afghan troops and, after several years' campaigning, finally succeeded in

1893 in reducing them to submission. The severe treatment which he meted out to them resulted in many of them emigrating and forming colonies in North-East Persia, where they are usually known as Berberis, and Baluchistan. Considerable numbers were recruited into the Indian Army as the Hazara Pioneers before and during the first World War, but at the end of the war they were disbanded. I understand that, although in some respects excellent material, they were not very reliable in a crisis. Certainly in North-East Persia they had the reputation for being both excitable and fanatical, and it was they who were chiefly implicated in the riots in the Meshed shrine in 1935, which led to some 800 persons being mown down by machine-gun fire of the Shah's troops while taking refuge in the precincts of the Shah Reza Mosque. After the collapse of Amanullah in 1929 the Hazaras refused to recognise Bacha Saqao and maintained this refusal until the return of the present dynasty. They have always resented Afghan overlordship and there have been persistent rumours of trouble of a minor description in the area.

4. My route lay westwards up the valley of the Kabul River, over the Unai Pass into the valley of the Helmand, and over two more passes to Panjao, the present temporary headquarters of the Dai Zangi Division, and, as its name denotes, the meeting place of five valleys where several trade routes also converge. From Panjao,

which is some 150 miles west of Kabul, I turned north over the Shahtu Pass to Band-i-Amir, the well known "blue lake" the waters of which flow north-west to Mazar-i-Sharif; then east to Bamian and its river along which runs the main road leading down through the Hindu Kush to the valley of the Oxus; and finally back over the Shibar Pass to the Koh-i-Daman and Kabul. My military attaché will report in due course such fresh details of this little-used route as I was able to obtain. All the passes were 10,000 or 11,000 feet high, the roads are extremely bad and the gradients extreme. It had been Amir Abdur Rahman's policy to maintain his hold on the country by building forts (robats) at 12-mile intervals along all the principal routes. So much so that distances in Afghanistan used to be, and in the Hazara country still are, calculated by "robats" rather than by miles or "krohs" (the present Afghan standard of distance). As far as Besud these "robats" appear to have been completed, though some of them are no longer used. In other areas, however, certain "robats" seem never to have been constructed, presumably because the pacification of the area had been accomplished without them.

5. When I arrived at Panjao I found that Abdul Majid Khan, the Minister for National Economy, who was on his way back from Herat to Kabul, had elected to travel from Herat by this road in order to see for himself the possibilities of opening permanent communications by the most direct route across Afghanistan, and was expected in Panjao the next day. This accounted for the comparatively good state of repair in which I found the roads, and enabled me in the time at my disposal to travel a further 25 miles westwards from Panjao as far as the Akzarat Pass, 10,880 feet. There are in all more than a dozen passes of this height between Kabul and Herat and, although there is a good deal of traffic through the country, the winters, when the whole country is closed to movement for four or five months, are very severe, and I doubt if the maintenance of communications for motor traffic will ever be a practicable proposition.

6. There are no large towns or villages in the area, but the valleys are thickly populated and intensively cultivated, and it is obvious that the Hazaras must be a very industrious people. Catch crops are grown on many of the northern slopes of

the otherwise barren hills, where the snow lies longer and where the sun is not too strong to dry the ground before the quick-ripening crops come to maturity. The villages are, however, small and very poor and I imagine that the Afghan Government exact an unduly large share of their produce as revenue; in fact, all the district headquarters seem to possess large, well-built, stone warehouses in which local produce is collected and from which it is transported to Kabul as occasion demands. Although it is undoubted that the officials appointed from Kabul treat the local inhabitants with a good deal of severity—and signs of this were by no means lacking—the chief trouble, I believe, arises from enmity between the Hazaras and the Pathan tribes who find their way to the highlands for summer grazing and whom we met on the road in large numbers as they began their downward migration. Their flocks and herds must do a great deal of damage in the cultivated valleys and I saw camels on several occasions grazing in the young wheat. There seems also to be a tendency among some of the tribes to settle in these fertile valleys and to oust the Hazara cultivators in exactly the same way as is happening in Northern Afghanistan. In Panjao I met an official of the Ministry of Education who was engaged in the preparation of a map of the country showing permanent Pathan settlements as well as the main summer camping grounds and migration routes of the nomad tribes. This was apparently being done in order to enable the Government to decide disputes between the tribesmen and the local Hazaras.

7. Both at Panjao and at the two sub-Governorates of Besud and Yakaulang, through which we passed, the Governors were Afghans who had only recently been appointed from Kabul. I was told that the previous Governor at Panjao, one Haji Malik, had shown great energy in opening up communications, which, of course, meant forced labour from the peasants, and that consequent complaints had led to his removal. I believe, however, that the principal grievance against him was that he was too inclined to take the part of the Pathans against the Hazaras in their disputes over land and cultivation. Discontent in the area seems to be more widespread than usual, and I was told in confidence that the Government buildings in Ujaristan had recently been attacked and

looted by Hazaras, who had made off with some eighty Government rifles and were still at large in the hills. It is difficult to secure confirmation of such reports, but there is little doubt that the unrest is causing considerable concern to the Afghan Government and increases their nervousness regarding their own position in the country. There are reports that Mohammed Amin, who is said to have an Hazara mother, has numerous sympathisers in the Hazarajat. Had his recent attempts to stir up trouble on the frontier been more successful the consequences for the Afghan Government might indeed have been serious. In any case, trouble on the frontier brings with it an increased danger for the Afghans of a stab in the back.

8. I should, in conclusion, pay a tribute to the Afghan Government, which freely consented to my making the trip, and gave instructions to the officials through whose districts I passed to render me every

assistance. Others who have asked for similar permission to travel in the Hazarajat, or who have attempted the journey without permission, have been put off on one pretext or another. The permission given to me, therefore, makes me still further beholden to the Afghans, from whom I have received nothing but kindness ever since I came to Kabul six years ago. Throughout the way I met with the greatest courtesy, though I am sure that my presence in the area caused acute embarrassment, and that the officials concerned were greatly relieved when I took my departure.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners in Delhi and Karachi and to His Majesty's Ambassadors in Tehran, Angora and Moscow, and to the Deputy High Commissioner in Peshawar.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

F 12979/10110/97

No. 15

ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 30th August)

(No. 95. Confidential)
Sir,

Kabul,
18th August, 1949.

I have just completed my sixth year in Kabul and before I leave it may be of interest if I attempt to give some estimate of the position that this Embassy has held in Afghanistan since its inception as a Legation after the Treaty of 1921, and to pass in brief review the relations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Afghanistan during all these years.

2. After the Third Afghan War of 1919 the British Government gave up the right, which they had previously so jealously guarded, of controlling Afghanistan's foreign relations and granted full independence to the country; but His Majesty's Government and the Government of India fully realised the importance of still maintaining a predominant position in the country and decided to emphasise this by making very special provision for the British Legation in Kabul. It is popularly believed, though I believe the story to be without foundation, that Lord Curzon, who was Foreign Secretary at the time, decreed

that the British Minister in Kabul was to be the "best housed person in Asia" and accordingly no effort or expense was spared in order to house His Majesty's Minister in a manner befitting the great Empire which he represented. The twenty jaribs (about fifteen acres) which was all that was allowed by treaty was held to be insufficient and His Majesty's Minister was, as a special case, permitted by King Amanullah to purchase by private negotiation some thirty-five acres of orchard land, situated three miles outside the town, on which a magnificent Legation and the subsidiary buildings to house the officers and staff, the power house, garage, hospital, water and sanitary installations were constructed. These buildings, far exceeding in magnificence anything previously dreamed of or yet constructed in Afghanistan may have been the envy of many, Afghan and foreigner alike, but they have certainly enormously enhanced the prestige of the British Minister and the Government which he represents. Although Kabul housed three ambassadors it was an invitation to dine at the British Legation which

was, and still is, the hallmark of having socially "arrived."

3. The years of Amanullah's reign following the Third Afghan War could hardly have been expected to have seen cordial relations existing with Great Britain, and the King's suspicion and obstinacy, his vanity and his vagaries, did nothing towards the establishment of any basis for friendship and understanding. Indian interests, however, demanded that a firm line should be taken with the new kingdom. "*Oderint dum metuant*" might well have been our motto during these years.

4. During the anarchy that followed the rebellion of 1928-29 and King Amanullah's flight, the prestige which the British Legation had acquired stood it in good stead. Situated as it was at one time between the fire of the opposing armies of the King and of Bacha Saqao, the buildings were hit by no less than seventy shells during the course of the fighting. Bacha Saqao himself wished to enter the grounds, but Sir Francis Humphrys closed the gates in his face and forbade his entry, and the water-carrier's son did not dare to encroach on British property. Nor did he intervene in the subsequent evacuation, by air, of the British Legation staff and foreign communities from Kabul to India. The withdrawal of the Legation was a bitter blow for him, but the Legation property, left in charge of an Indian subordinate, remained untouched throughout the troubled months that followed until its reoccupation in 1930.

5. The accession of Nadir Shah and the rule of his family brought a new cordiality to the relations between the Afghan Government and the Legation. But old suspicions die hard, and for the next ten years assurances of trust and friendship made privately to British representatives were, to a large extent, nullified by more or less overt encouragement to the tribes on both sides of the Durand Line to look to Afghanistan as their protector and supporter against the infidels ruling in India. The outbreak of war in 1939 and the disasters of its early years threw a further strain on relations with Great Britain, and it was only the firmness and sagacity of Sardar Mohammed Hashim Khan, who for 17 years as Prime Minister held absolute sway in the country, that maintained a strict neutrality and held in check the numerous elements who foresaw a British defeat and clamoured to be allowed to profit from it in advance. I like to think

that the existence of these solid and magnificent buildings and the unruffled continuance of normal life within the Legation walls contributed in no small measure to the maintenance of the confidence shown in the British Empire by Hashim Khan and his Government. The sudden appointment of a new British Minister in 1941, charged especially with the task of forcing the eviction of Axis nationals from the country did nothing to increase British popularity, but the turn of the tide in our favour won for us a grudging admiration, and still further enhanced British prestige.

6. It was my good fortune to arrive in Kabul when the crisis was past and ultimate victory assured. Never had British prestige stood higher. And with admiration for British achievement came also the realisation that Afghan suspicions of British motives were groundless, and that the traditional double-faced policy of professing friendship while encouraging enmity among the people, was now ripe for change. At one of my early interviews with the Prime Minister I asked him how he could reconcile his own professed desire for friendship with the history taught to every Afghan schoolboy, who was encouraged to look on the man who treacherously murdered the British envoy in 1841 as a national hero, and to gloat over the picture of the solitary British survivor of Afghan perfidy riding exhausted into Jalalabad. Hashim Khan agreed that a change was now due, but said that the exact timing must be left to him. Shortly afterwards I was informed that the offending picture, to which I had taken exception had been removed from Afghan schoolbooks, and it was not long before the promised change in policy was officially inaugurated by a series of press articles acknowledging in generous terms the assistance which Britain, in spite of her own difficulties, had generously accorded to Afghanistan. This was followed by a spontaneous and altogether new suggestion that the traditional suspicion with which we had always viewed each other's activities on the frontier should be replaced by a policy of genuine co-operation aimed at reducing the dangers inherent in the tribal situation, and at civilising and eventually disarming the tribes. This was surely our finest hour. It was not destined to be much more.

7. Victory, which the Afghans fully hoped would bring an easing of their difficulties, merely enhanced them. It was soon seen that Britain, impoverished by her war

effort, was in no position to help. A new star had, however, appeared on the horizon. During the war an American Legation had been opened in Kabul as a purely temporary measure, chiefly with the idea of supporting the British in the country and of countering Axis influence. The American Minister, to whom Anglo-American co-operation was almost a religion, worked whole-heartedly in our support. But with the end of the war American policy underwent a change. A new Minister was sent with instructions to see that the American Legation should no longer be a "down-town branch of the British Legation" and to put America "on the map." The Afghan Government, applying to both Britain and America for help, met with a ready response from the latter. 100,000 tons of wheat, of which other countries in the world stood in much greater need, was sold to Afghanistan without any reference to the World Food Organisation. Afghan requests for a loan were encouraged, and a development contract was concluded in which as many as 300 Americans came to work in the country.

8. Next came the sudden decision to grant India her independence without further delay. To the Afghans this was a wholly incomprehensible abdication, the reasons for which they could not, and still cannot understand. At first they were inclined to think that it was only another British trick, and that His Majesty's Government was still in fact controlling the Governments of India and Pakistan. In this opinion they were confirmed by the retention of British Governors and so many British officers in Pakistan and, closer at hand, by the continuance of the British Legation in Kabul, and its elevation to the status of an Embassy. For nearly a year we continued to look after Indian interests, while the new Pakistan Embassy was largely manned by personnel transferred from my staff. Nothing has done more to shake this confidence than the recent declaration by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in Parliament supporting the views of Pakistan regarding the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province. Until that declaration had been made the Afghan Government was obdurate in its insistence that it was His Majesty's Government, and His Majesty's Government alone, who must solve the frontier question. Indignation with Great Britain

is profound, and a special conference has been called, to which all leading Afghan statesmen and diplomats have been summoned, to consider what they regard as a new and important development.

9. The decision that has now been reached by His Majesty's Government that even the Embassy itself does not belong to us, and that for the last two years we have been living in it under false pretences will, to the Afghans, be the final proof that our day indeed is done. It has been my good fortune to have lived in Afghanistan through all these years when our prestige has been at its zenith. As long as the war lasted Great Britain was the only power that counted for anything in Afghanistan, and the British Legation was the symbol of that power. Its continuance has, in the public eye, obscured the melancholy fact that other powers have now taken our place. Its lovely grounds, never more beautiful than in the present year, have continued to be the centre of attraction for many residents in Kabul. With its passing into other hands there will inevitably pass also the last vestige of British influence in Afghanistan. More enlightened Afghans, who have come to realise what we have done for their country, and to know how vital to their own existence has been British support and goodwill, will genuinely regret our decline. The general public, however, will remember rather the wars they have fought with us and the days when the British were their chief enemies, and will gloat over our discomfiture. Afghan treatment of a fallen adversary is well known, and I am reminded irresistibly of Kipling's lines—

"When you're wounded and left on
Afghanistan's plains,
And the women come out to cut up what
remains."

I do not of course mean to suggest that anything so unpleasant will happen, but my successor will not, I fear, have a very enviable task.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in Karachi and New Delhi, to His Majesty's Ambassadors in Tehran and Moscow, and to the Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Peshawar.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

F 13553/1894/97

No. 16

ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

His Majesty's Ambassador's Farewell Audience with the King

Sir G. Squire to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th September.)

(No. 99. Restricted) *Kabul,*
Sir, *27th August, 1949.*

I have the honour to say that I paid my farewell call on His Majesty the King of Afghanistan on Friday, 26th August. The report that the King's left eye is now affected (*vide* my telegram No. 203, dated 27th August) has only just become known and is causing much anxiety in court circles. The King, however, though he was wearing dark glasses, seemed otherwise well and made no reference to his trouble. He talked in a very friendly manner about my long association with his country and the friendships I had formed here, and insisted that though there might at the moment be a difference of opinion between our two Governments, he hoped that this would be only temporary, as Afghanistan had no desire for anything but the friendliest and closest relations with His Majesty's Government.

2. My Turkish colleague, who is also leaving and had just previously paid his

farewell visit, tells me that the King spoke to him more openly about the disagreement with Pakistan. The ambassador replied that he had studied the case and that he felt he would be failing in his duty if he did not tell His Majesty that juridically the Afghan case seemed extremely weak and that in putting it forward his Government did not seem to take world opinion sufficiently into consideration. The King replied that he was well aware that the Afghan case was not very strong from a purely legal point of view, but that matters of state could not be decided purely on legal grounds; sentiment, national feeling and historic associations must also play their part.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in Karachi and New Delhi and to His Majesty's Ambassadors in Moscow, Washington, Tehran and Angora.

I have, &c.

G. F. SQUIRE.

F 17132/1015/97

No. 17

RECONSTITUTION OF THE AFGHAN CABINET

Mr. Gardener to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th November)

(No. 116. Confidential) *Kabul,*
Sir, *8th November, 1949.*

With reference to my telegrams Nos. 243 and 244 of 2nd November, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith translations of the Royal Decree constituting the new Afghan Cabinet and of an official statement published simultaneously on the reasons for the establishment of the new "Supreme Council of Government."

2. The reconstitution of the Cabinet was first announced on the Kabul radio on the evening of 31st October, but the intervening day being a holiday it was only on 2nd November that details appeared in the Kabul press. It is evident that King Zahir Shah must have signed the decree before his departure for Paris on 7th October, and, indeed, the statement on the Supreme Council of Government says that His

Majesty decided upon its establishment on that same date. Two possible explanations suggest themselves for this curious delay. It may have been thought that the effect on the public of the simultaneous departure of the King and the formation of a new Government might have been too unsettling, the Afghan authorities being already disturbed at the possible influence on the stability of the régime of the King's departure (see my letter of 21st October to Mr. Scott of the South-East Asia Department). Alternatively, or additionally, it may have been that the final details of the Cabinet changes had not in fact been settled when the King left Kabul. This is borne out to some extent by a remark made to me by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and by the fact that his appointment to be First Assistant in the

Prime Ministry was the subject of a separate Royal Decree, the rumour being that it was only after much controversy that the appointment was made, the rival candidate being Prince Naim, until now Afghan Ambassador in Washington.

3. As indicated in my telegram No. 244, the outstanding feature of the reconstituted Cabinet is the position attained by Prince Daud. The fact that he will control the army and supervise the Ministries of the Interior and Communications and the Directorate of Tribes (the heads of which are not in any case strong characters) means that he will in effect be in a position to dictate internal policy, a situation which can hardly fail to result in continuous friction, if nothing worse, with the Prime Minister. It is particularly dangerous that Prince Daud should simultaneously control the army and the tribes, since the balance between these two forces is vitally important in the life of Afghanistan. It would have been preferable to have had separate Ministers responsible, with the ultimate appeal to the Prime Minister in case of differences of opinion. There can now hardly be any appeal beyond Sardar Daud.

4. As regards the second group of Ministries, Abdul Majid Khan, for many years before his departure to America last year was the economic genius of Afghanistan, and being also a rich man he enjoyed great influence in all economic affairs. His new supervisory powers over other Ministries, while retaining his own department of National Economy, represents, therefore, the formal confirmation and reinforcement of a previously existing situation.

5. The two rather minor Ministries which have been attributed to Faiz Mohammed Khan suggest that he will not be overburdened with routine administration and that he will be left with much time on his hands in which to pursue his "Pathanistan" propaganda. With the Prime Minister still apparently stubbornly in favour of the present agitation, and both Abdul Majid Khan and Faiz Mohammed Khan sympathisers in the same cause, it will be difficult for Prince Daud to stand out against a forward policy on this issue. A further straw in the wind is the appointment of the new First Under-Secretary of the Press Department whose nationalism is indicated by his change of name last year to Maiwand Wal (in honour of the British defeat in 1880), and who has been the author of or otherwise responsible for many

of the most virulent press articles attacking Pakistan. It is only to be hoped that the Supreme Council of Government will be so occupied with its declared object of introducing a more efficient and honest administration that it will not have much time to devote to agitation for Pathanistan. The duty of the Supreme Council of Government "to make every effort to assure the lawful rights of the trans-frontier Afghans" is mentioned in the Government statement enclosed, but no special significance need, I think, be attached to this, as any such statement would have to contain a reference to the matter, and the phraseology used is in fact relatively mild.

6. Other changes in the Cabinet call for little comment, save perhaps the appointment of Sardar Naim Khan (brother of Prince Daud and Ambassador in Washington) to the Ministry of Public Works. It is surprising that he should be called home to such a relatively unimportant post though, as stated above, there was apparently some support for a proposal that he should be made First Assistant to the Prime Minister. He replaces Mohammed Kabir Khan Ludin who was American trained and identified with the contract with the American firm of Morrison Knudsen which has cost the Afghan exchequer so much with so little to show for it. Otherwise, a few nonentities have disappeared and a few remain.

7. New incumbents will now have to be appointed to four Afghan missions abroad, including the three important embassies of London, Washington and Paris. It is difficult to know how they will be found for Afghanistan is woefully short of men of the requisite calibre.

8. The statement of the purposes of the Supreme Council of Government freely admits that much is wrong with the administration of Afghanistan, and on paper the new Government seems to be composed of the strongest personalities available to deal with this situation. Its efficiency as a team, however, is very much open to question and its present composition may merely mark one stage towards the elimination of Shah Mahmud Khan, and the establishment of a Government basing itself more on the ideas of the former Prime Minister, Hashim Khan, Daud Khan being the chosen instrument of the latter. It would be interesting—but at the moment unprofitable and unnecessary—to speculate whether such an old style régime could hold back the tide of new ideas now rising in Afghanistan.

Copies of this despatch are being sent to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom at New Delhi and Karachi.

I have, &c.

A. J. GARDENER.

Enclosure 1 in No. 17

(Translation)

Important changes in the Executive Body of the Government

(All the executive affairs of the country divided into three main groups)

Kabul.—We are informed that as the result of an earlier proposal by His Royal Highness the Prime Minister a Royal Decree has been addressed to the Prime Ministry, and we reproduce this exactly for our readers:

My respected uncle, Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan, Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister: Since my one sincere desire is the prosperity and advancement of beloved Afghanistan and better progress in the affairs of the country, I have determined, in view of the present-day exigencies of the country, to take the following decisions:—

Firstly.—Recomposition of the Cabinet:—

Minister for Foreign Affairs: His Excellency Ali Muhammad Khan.

Minister for War: His Royal Highness Sirdar Muhammad Daud Khan (Afghan Ambassador in Paris).

Minister of the Interior: His Excellency Sirdar Asadullah Khan.

Minister of Education: His Excellency Faiz Muhammad Khan (Afghan Ambassador in London).

Minister of National Economy: His Excellency Abdul Majid Khan.

Minister of Public Works: His Royal Highness Sirdar Muhammad Naim Khan (Afghan Ambassador in Washington).

Minister of Finance: His Excellency Mir Muhammad Haidar Khan.

Minister of Health: His Excellency Abdul Majid Khan.

Minister of Mines: His Excellency Ghulam Yahya Khan.

Minister of Communications: His Excellency Ghulam Muhammad Khan.

Minister of Justice—not yet appointed (until the appointment of a Minister the Secretary will be in charge).

Director-General of Agriculture: Amir-ud-din Khan.

Director-General of the Press: Muhammad Hashim Khan Maiwandawal (as First Under-Secretary).

Director-General of Tribes: Sayyid Shams-ud-din Khan Majruk (as Second Under-Secretary).

Secondly.—Since the arrangement of the affairs of the Government, and the results achieved thereby, demand greater co-operation by the responsible body of Government, and since in the other direction the character and natural disposition of the activities of the country fall into three groups for the harmonious working of which a basis of fixed planning is necessary, therefore groups are now formed accordingly as follows:—

First Group

Ministries of War, the Interior, Communications; and the Directorate of Tribes.

Head of this Group is His Royal Highness Sirdar Muhammad Daud Khan, Minister for War.

Second Group

Ministries of National Economy, Finance, Public Works, Mines and the Directorate of Agriculture.

Head of this Group is His Excellency Abdul Majid Khan, Minister of National Economy.

Third Group

Ministries of Education and Health.

Head of this Group is His Excellency Faiz Muhammad Khan, Minister of Education.

Thirdly.—The Ministries for Foreign Affairs and Justice and the Directorate of the Press remain as they were and will fulfil their functions as formerly.

Fourthly.—Both for the drawing up of administrative, political and economic plans, and for the administration and control of these, a body is needed to consider general affairs of State and to decide the real aims (of the country) and to consider jointly, and approve, plans recommended by the different groups. To this end a body to be known as the Supreme Council of Government (Shora'i 'Ali-ye Daulat),

which will be additional to the Supreme Council of Ministers, is approved. Regulations notified will of course afterwards be referred to other appointed bodies such as the Council of Ministers or the Council of Nobles.

The Head of this Council will be my respected uncle, and its members will be :—

His Excellency Ali Muhammad Khan (First Assistant in the Prime Ministry).

His Excellency Sirdar Asadullah Khan (Second Assistant in the Prime Ministry). The Heads of the three Groups, and two Ministers.

In connexion with the recomposition and the decisions given above I have also addressed separate decrees to the Cabinet, Heads of Groups, Ministries, Directorates, and members of the three Groups. You will put my decisions into operation in accordance with this firman.

May Divine favour be with you, my respected uncle, and all who work in the Government, in their duty and service to our dear homeland.

Signature.

Enclosure 2 in No. 17

(Translation)

(Islah 2.11.49)

The Aims and Objects of the Establishment of the Supreme Council of Government

For the further improvement and progress of the country, and to regulate the activities and far-from-perfect administration of the social life of the Afghan nation, it was necessary to have under the direction of His Royal Highness the Prime Minister a stronger organisation with absolute authority which would guide and operate the Cabinet as well as Government and national departments and establishments; and the need to create such an organisation was greatly felt. On 14th Mizan 1328 (7th October, 1949), His Majesty the King decided to set up a Supreme Council of Government so that the administration of government should be based on the commandments of true Islam and the concept of true democracy, and the country gradually provided with the means of attaining this objective; for every great ambition demands constant work by the people, and

harmony among them, and no national aim which springs from the masses and has their unanimous support depends on one individual, but it relies on an enduring body which, as a complete unit, can attain the desired results for the country.

The ultimate aims of the Supreme Council of Government are as follows :—

To adhere to the Divine Law (Shariat) of Muhammad and give absolute loyalty to the King and constitutional monarchy of Afghanistan.

To regard its own existence as bound up with the existence of the independence and territorial integrity of the Afghan nation, without reserve or condition, and to look on all degrees of the country's prosperity as dependent on this existence.

To make every effort to assure the lawful rights of trans-Frontier Afghans.

To regard justice and equity as the basis of the solidarity of the community and the prosperity of the nation, and to look on it as their faithful duty to the people to safeguard these throughout the country.

To put the interests of the nation before the interests of self and to carry this out in practice.

To consider national unity as the cornerstone of Afghanistan's material and spiritual strength and make every effort to obviate internal differences.

To put official and public affairs gradually into the hands of competent persons without distinction, and strictly control misappropriation of Government and public funds.

To respect fully all the laws of the country with complete equality and without personal preference.

In the belief that corruption and disruption in official and public organisations harm the nation, it has been decided to safeguard the principles of law, and to take strict measures to prevent any manner of disorder or anarchist activity which disturb public peace and security and are contrary to national policy and dignity.

Administrative, economic, educational, &c., reforms are to be planned and put into practice so far as they are within the power and means of the country, priority being given to the execution of (public) works.

The selection or punishment of Government officials should be on the basis of justice and equity, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the country.